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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY

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# IOWA

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WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

*Superintendent  
and Editor*

MILDRED THRONE

*Associate  
Editor*

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## COVER

The Retreat of Dresser's Battery, Battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862. From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War* (New York, 1896), 111. The caption under the picture reads: "The Eleventh Iowa Regiment, which supported them, fought desperately; but the overwhelming masses of the enemy pressed closer and closer, and they had to fall back toward the left, leaving the unfortunate Dresser unsupported."

## DAVID B. HENDERSON: SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

*By Willard L. Hoing\**

The election of David B. Henderson of Iowa as Speaker of the House of Representatives in December, 1899, marked the beginning of the end of an era. Colonel Henderson was the last of the Civil War Speakers, the first man west of the Mississippi to hold this second highest office in the land, and the only Iowan ever to serve in that capacity. The elevation of this hearty, lusty, colorful frontier immigrant, known for his love of rough-and-tumble debate, his partisan faith in the Republican party, and his frankness and good fellowship toward all, symbolized the unrest of the rebellious rank-and-file Republican members of the House who had long chafed under the autocratic control of Thomas B. ("Czar") Reed, recently retired from political life.

Henderson's rise to high office was probably due to circumstances as much as ability. Residing in Dubuque, the Democratic core of an otherwise Republican congressional district in Iowa, Henderson had already served sixteen continuous years as a Representative. First elected to Congress in 1882, he had been assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee, but in 1885, during the Forty-ninth Congress, he had been placed on the important Appropriations Committee. Following an unsuccessful attempt by Henderson to secure the Speaker's office in 1888, he was appointed by the victor, Thomas B. Reed, as chairman of the Militia Committee in addition to his place on the Appropriations Committee. This was no small favor at a time before the construction of the House Office Building, since only committee chairmen had offices.

Although hard-pressed by his Democratic opponent in the election of 1890, Henderson survived the congressional upheaval that saw many of his more prominent colleagues fall by the wayside over the issue of the McKinley Tariff. His victory margin was a slender 198 votes.<sup>1</sup> One result of this

\*Willard L. Hoing teaches at Ellsworth Junior College, Iowa Falls, Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> Paul S. Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 1:354n (July, 1903). Among those colleagues defeated were William

election was the emergence of Henderson as one of the Republican House leaders in the Democratic-controlled Fifty-second Congress during Cleveland's second administration. Upon the return of the Republicans to congressional power in 1894, Henderson expected to be promoted to the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, of which he was the ranking member, but Reed wanted Joseph Cannon instead, and Henderson was given the important Judiciary Committee and a place on the powerful Rules Committee, both of which he held until his election as Speaker.

David Bremner Henderson was born in Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, March 14, 1840. Six years later his family migrated to the United States, settling on a farm near Rockford, Illinois, where they resided for three years before moving to a large tract of government land near Clermont in Fayette County, Iowa, since known as "Henderson's Prairie."<sup>2</sup>

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Henderson terminated his third-year studies at Upper Iowa University at Fayette and helped to raise Company C, 12th Iowa Infantry, composed of University students and young Fayette County residents. Accepting the rank of first lieutenant, he was in command of the company at the battle of Fort Donelson, where he was struck in the jaw by a bullet as he led his men over the enemy breastworks.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his release from the hospital, Henderson was assigned as adjutant of the Union Brigade, a unit formed of remnants of the 8th, 12th, and 14th Iowa after the battle of Shiloh. As such, Henderson took part in the battle of Corinth on October 3-4, 1862, where a musket ball shattered his left ankle, necessitating the amputation of his foot. The wound never healed properly, and four subsequent operations were necessary to prevent the spread of disease emanating from the wound. Undoubtedly the constant pain was one of the factors in Colonel Henderson's waning strength during the late years of his life.

Discharged from the army in 1863, Henderson was appointed as com-

McKinley of Ohio; Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, who succeeded Henderson as Speaker; and six of the eleven Iowa Republican Congressmen.

<sup>2</sup> Dubuque *Daily Times*, Feb. 26, 27, Mar. 4, 1906; Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Feb. 26, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Louis B. Schmidt, "David Bremner Henderson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:526. This article indicates that the wound was on the neck, whereas obituaries in the Dubuque *Daily Times* and the Des Moines *Register and Leader* state it was a jaw wound.



missioner of the board of enrollment for the Third Iowa District through the efforts of William B. Allison, then a Representative in Congress from Dubuque. This appointment came at the suggestion of old-time friends, Elias H. Williams of Elkader and William Larrabee of Clermont, later state supreme court justice and governor of Iowa, respectively. As commissioner, Henderson prepared, organized, and conducted the first Civil War draft in his district in 1864.

But Henderson, even with an injured leg, was still the warrior and not the type to ask others to do what he would not. During the summer of 1864 he was active in organizing the 46th Iowa Infantry, a one-hundred-days unit of older men and recovered wounded — those not capable of combat but fully qualified for guard duty. Despite his earlier wounds and his artificial foot, Henderson was appointed colonel of the regiment by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, and he commanded the unit until the end of the war.<sup>4</sup> Henderson held his colonelcy for only a few short months, at the youthful age of twenty-four, but this title remained with him throughout his life, proving a valuable asset to his political career. It was a significant heritage from the war, for few politicians were successful in the postwar period without a military record, North or South.

Terminating his service career in 1865, Henderson turned to the study of law in the office of the distinguished firm of Bissell and Shiras of Dubuque. In November, 1865, the bond with Allison was strengthened when Allison aided Henderson in obtaining an appointment as collector of internal revenue for the Northern Iowa District. Resigning this position in 1869 to become a member of the law firm of Shiras, Van Duzee and Henderson, he soon accepted a second political appointment as Assistant United States District Attorney, serving two years in this capacity. Henderson then returned to his private law practice, in which he was active until his election to Congress in 1882. Weak in the fundamentals of law, Henderson's prowess was as a pleader before the jury, where his ability to comprehend and analyze the motives of men, combined with his vigor as a debater, compensated for other deficiencies.

Very little is known of Colonel Henderson's political activities in the years between 1871, when he returned to the practice of law, and 1882, when he was first elected to Congress. He was undoubtedly in close con-

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* (Des Moines, 1865), 652.

tact with local and state Republican political affairs, since his good friend Allison was elected to the United States Senate in 1872. In 1875 Henderson wrote to Allison in regard to the forthcoming senatorial election, and it is evident that he was more than a casual observer in the campaign.<sup>5</sup> Henderson's political activities must have been fairly widespread, since in his own first election campaign he was lauded as an experienced political leader and campaign manager.<sup>6</sup>

At the 1880 Republican national convention, Henderson supported James G. Blaine for the presidential nomination. The excellent convention speech he gave for Blaine is said to have virtually assured him of the Third District nomination for Congress in 1882. But the convention was split between the factions supporting Blaine and those supporting U. S. Grant for a third term. The result was the compromise ticket of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. Two years later, the resulting intraparty dispute was still raging and had centered about the position of secretary of the Republican national congressional campaign committee. At President Arthur's personal request, Henderson accepted this position after once rejecting it, hoping to bring to a close the factional difficulties. The main function of his position seems to have been the collection of money to carry on the national congressional campaigns.<sup>7</sup>

Elected to Congress in 1882, Henderson served twenty consecutive years in the House and was eleven times nominated by his party for the congressional seat. Although he was seriously threatened only in the election of 1890, Henderson was nevertheless not entirely popular in his own party. As early as 1892 there was some intraparty opposition to him, and this opposition grew stronger as his years of service increased. Throughout his long career in the House, Henderson favored a high protective tariff and promoted pensions for soldiers, widows, and orphans. He did great service in sponsoring the Railway Safety Bill with Senator Allison, a measure prepared by Iowa's L. S. Coffin, a Webster County farmer, and he fathered the first important bankruptcy bill passed by Congress. Although opposed to

<sup>5</sup> Henderson to Allison, Dec. 23, 1875, in Leland L. Sage, "Weaver in Allison's Way," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 31:503 (January, 1953).

<sup>6</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, May 12, 1882.

<sup>7</sup> Henderson's selection met with the unanimous approval of both factions. During the campaign his political opponents nicknamed him "two-percent" because it was alleged he had assessed certain federal employees that percentage of their salaries.

prohibition, and with a legendary reputation as a heavy tippler, Henderson crusaded against intemperance. As a former soldier, he always viewed American foreign affairs from the military standpoint, but he was opposed to war and to any policy that would lead to American imperialism. After the Spanish-American War had come, however, Henderson, like many other administration leaders, found it expedient to give his support. It is somewhat ironical that the policy of imperialism, by antagonizing Speaker Reed until he resigned from Congress, gave Henderson, who was also an anti-imperialist, his opportunity to try for the highest federal office his foreign birth would allow him to hold.

The House, controlled by "Czar" Reed, was becoming restive under his rule. Although he was re-elected by his constituents in 1898, there were rumors that he would resign. An extra session of Congress, in the fall of 1898, did nothing to abate the ill-feeling against his domineering attitude and his opposition to administration policies. Finally, on April 19, 1899, it was authoritatively announced that Reed would enter a New York law practice, although his formal resignation did not take place until September 4, 1899.<sup>8</sup>

Henderson was in Atlantic City at the time of the announcement, serving as chairman of the Republican caucus committee preparing monetary legislation for the next Congress. He wrote Allison, on April 20: "It looks this morning as though Reed would go out. If so I shall make the fight for Speaker and want all your wisdom and energy to help me."<sup>9</sup>

Senator Allison gave Henderson the support he asked for. Meanwhile, Senator Thomas C. Platt of New York was reported to have given a dinner at which he announced that he would deliver the speakership to James Sherman of his state. This provoked Allison, who, with the assistance of Senator John H. Gear of Iowa, and the strong Iowa delegation in the House, began work for Henderson.

Before committing himself publicly, Henderson went to President McKinley, his former House colleague, and asked the President if he intended to use his extensive influence to determine the race. On being assured of a "hands-off" policy, Henderson undertook the campaign, although he did

<sup>8</sup> William A. Robinson, *Thomas Brackett Reed, Parliamentarian* (New York, 1930), Chap. XVII.

<sup>9</sup> Henderson to Allison, Apr. 20, 1899, Box 33, *William Boyd Allison Papers* (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa).

not formally announce his candidacy until April 27, when he released a statement from his Atlantic City headquarters. The announcement, he said, was based upon continued "rumors" of Reed's retirement and the Speaker's silence regarding them. The members of the Iowa delegation and many other Representatives had already guaranteed their support and were even then preparing for a meeting in Des Moines to plan the campaign, which Henderson could not personally manage for a time, since his duties on the caucus committee would take another week or so.<sup>10</sup>

Senator Allison, anticipating the need of support, wrote Henderson that he would "look after" Senators John C. Spooner of Wisconsin and Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island. Henderson also personally contacted Aldrich, announcing: "I am in the field for the speakership and want Rhode Island. I know that your two members have nothing against me and are my friends in a general sense. Can you not make them go for me in this great contest?"<sup>11</sup>

There were many rival candidates for the speakership. Joseph G. Cannon, prominent Illinois Representative and chairman of the Appropriations Committee, announced his candidacy on April 21. So did his home-state rival, Albert J. Hopkins. A rumored conference of Illinois Republican Congressmen to decide upon the man the delegation would support did not materialize. Despite predictions that Hopkins would withdraw, he did not, and apparently he gained partial control of the large Illinois delegation. At this turn of events, Cannon made it plain he would support a rival out-of-state candidate.<sup>12</sup>

In New York, Representatives James S. Sherman and Sereno E. Payne both announced they were in the running; Charles Henry Grosvenor of Ohio and John Dalzell of Pennsylvania were also possible candidates. Grosvenor, however, was at a disadvantage, as he seemed to be in favor of repeal of the civil service law. Besides, Ohio had the presidency and could not expect the speakership as well. Dalzell did not seem a serious candidate in view of the fact that Pennsylvania had named the House clerk, and

<sup>10</sup> George R. Brown, *The Leadership of Congress* (Indianapolis, 1912), 111; *New York Times*, Apr. 28, 1899.

<sup>11</sup> Henderson to Allison, Apr. 29, 1899, Box 33, *Allison Papers*; Henderson to Aldrich, May 5, 1899, quoted in Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *Nelson W. Aldrich* (New York, 1930), 449.

<sup>12</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 22, 23, 28, 1899; Arthur W. Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding, 1888-1921* (New York, 1922), 310-11.



it was doubtful the state would be willing to forego the immense patronage of that office.<sup>13</sup>

There was some talk, particularly in eastern papers, of a sectional struggle, largely involving Sherman or Payne of New York and Cannon or Hopkins of Illinois. A number of newspapers had come out for Henderson. One reported that the real struggle would be between Henderson and Hopkins, two Midwesterners, rather than between the East and West, because "western men and opinions pre-dominate in Republican councils to-day." Experience, personal popularity, and party standing would be the decisive factors. Henderson held an advantage because he was liked by the rank-and-file party members and was personally popular in Congress.<sup>14</sup>

Any candidate, to be successful in the caucus, needed 93 votes, since the Republicans held 184 seats in the House. The eastern states controlled 71 votes; the West, 88 without Ohio's 15; and the South, 10. The East needed the western vote; the West needed some eastern votes unless Ohio supported the western candidate. An eastern man, with all the eastern votes plus Ohio, would still lack seven votes. Any split of New York's votes would probably destroy an easterner's chances. Thus Payne's candidacy could cause Sherman's loss by splitting New York.<sup>15</sup>

Patronage played its accustomed role in the campaign. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, Representative William A. Stone of Pennsylvania had managed Reed's campaign for Speaker, promising every office before the election. Henderson did not want an East-West struggle, since this would force an eastern concentration to maintain the eastern combination in order to continue to control the patronage. An intrasectional struggle between Henderson and Hopkins, combined with the struggle for control of the coveted committee chairmanships, might have elected Sherman, who was willing to make promises in return for support. But Payne hurt Sherman's chances by remaining in the campaign. Meanwhile, Dalzell asserted that he was still unpledged and free. A small break in the western bloc occurred when Charles Curtis of Kansas backed Sherman, probably in hopes of the Indian Affairs Committee chairmanship, but his stand was repudiated by the other members of his delegation.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 23, 1899; Brown, *The Leadership of Congress*, 111.

<sup>14</sup> *Dubuque Times*, Apr. 25, 28, 1899; *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1899.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1899.

<sup>16</sup> "The Speakership Contest," *New York Times*, May 4, 5, 1899.

Naturally, all committee chairmen in the House desired to retain their positions. The death of Nelson Dingley had elevated Payne to the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee, which he would want to retain if he lost the speakership. By April 28 the *New York Times* reported that Payne would withdraw from the race in order to insure Sherman's candidacy, yet retain the Ways and Means chairmanship. Albert Hopkins was also expected to withdraw if Joseph Cannon persisted. Cannon, it was believed, would prove the most difficult candidate, since he had the advantage of experience combined with an admitted integrity, fairness, and the general confidence of the House. James Sherman, with Sereno Payne out of the way, would also be a strong candidate. He had previous knowledge of Reed's plans and might have made some conditional promises of appointments. So now the contest seemed to be between Sherman, Cannon, and Henderson, with Grosvenor a possibility if a decision on one of the others could not be reached. The logical candidate was one who was close to Reed but who had not developed any antagonisms.<sup>17</sup>

By early May the work of the Atlantic City conference was completed. It was generally believed that the monetary measures it was prepared to offer would be comparatively simple and were bound to increase Chairman Henderson's prestige.<sup>18</sup> Free from committee responsibilities, Henderson plunged into the campaign, writing every Republican member of the House for support except those of New York and Illinois. William Alden Smith of Michigan was to be Sherman's western leader. To forestall this move, Henderson requested Senator Allison to contact Senator James McMillan of Michigan and have him persuade his colleague to support Henderson. In this Allison failed; Smith later supported Hopkins, who had not withdrawn as predicted. Henderson also wrote Senator Julius C. Burrows of Michigan, himself a former candidate for Speaker in 1888. In his efforts to prevent an eastern alliance, Henderson asked Allison to contact Senator Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania; he also urged Allison to see persons who had influence with the Oregon delegation. In another letter he suggested that Allison write to Vice President Garret A. Hobart.<sup>19</sup>

The Iowa delegation, meeting in Des Moines in mid-May to map out a

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 28, 1899; *Dubuque Times*, Apr. 28, 1899.

<sup>18</sup> *Dubuque Times*, May 2, 1899.

<sup>19</sup> Henderson to Allison, May 4, 5, 1899, Box 333, *Allison Papers*.

campaign for Henderson, claimed that their man had the support of delegates from every state except New York and Illinois, and in those states he was apparently second choice. This held significance, because Congressmen are usually noncommittal so far in advance of any action.<sup>20</sup> By May 21 the New York *Times* saw a possible Henderson victory. The struggle seemed to have settled down to an East versus West fight, with the eastern minority hopelessly divided and the westerners unequally split between Hopkins and Henderson. The latter controlled the largest segment of western support, joined with some eastern elements. Hopkins' boom seemed to be fading away, as was Sherman's. Payne still campaigned, but he was fighting for the Ways and Means Committee chairmanship and admitted that under certain conditions Henderson could win.<sup>21</sup>

Hopkins made a last desperate bid for the office, pleading that his election would keep the pivotal state of Illinois in line for the presidential election of 1900. He insinuated that he could unite the badly split Republican party, and unity would be needed, since they had a House majority of only thirteen. Cannon, he claimed, was now supporting him, working for his candidacy as if it were his own. This certainly was not true, and Hopkins' argument that Illinois must be kept in line for the 1900 presidential election was quickly refuted when it was pointed out that New York was also a pivotal state and held thirty-six electoral votes as compared with Illinois's twenty-four.<sup>22</sup>

The drift of sentiment now moved increasingly toward Henderson, although the other candidates remained active. Sherman expressed confidence, claiming the vote of twelve states, and Payne was still in the running. John Dalzell continued to work quietly for his own election, despite the fact that Pennsylvania had now put forward Harry Bingham, once described by Iowa's Senator John H. Gear as the most dangerous candidate.<sup>23</sup>

Some eastern papers ridiculed the Henderson movement. The New York *Sun* summed up Henderson's qualifications: when angry, he had a "temper that sometimes sputtered like the devil's frying pan." He possessed intense partisanship, combined with sixteen years of experience in the House, one longer than Hopkins and two less than Reed. He had been chairman of the

<sup>20</sup> Dubuque *Times*, May 23, 1899.

<sup>21</sup> New York *Times*, May 21, 1899.

<sup>22</sup> Dubuque *Times*, May 2, 1899; New York *Times*, May 17, 24, 1899.

<sup>23</sup> Dubuque *Times*, May 24, 1899; New York *Times*, May 25, 1899.

Judiciary and a member of the Rules Committee. There was some western opposition to Henderson, and anti-Henderson pamphlets had been circulated. The *Sun's* further charge that the Colonel lacked sympathy with the expansionist policy of the American people, having opposed the Cuban liberation war as late as March, 1898, was correct.<sup>24</sup> Henderson did not want war. He had supported it only when it became a reality in spite of his opposition. He was among those who helped pass the McKinley request for a fifty million dollar appropriation bill for American preparedness, but he believed that those who preserved the peace had the interests of their country at heart more than those who wanted war.

Several friends sent Henderson copies of the *Sun's* charges. To one he replied that his record proved that he had supported the President on the war issue. To another he commented: "I cannot make party platforms. I am not the Republican party. I cannot alone shape its policies nor would I express opinions on all questions in advance of thorough knowledge of facts as they may exist when we have to legislate."<sup>25</sup>

A definite and decisive moment came on Friday, May 27, 1899, when the Wisconsin Republican delegation met at Milwaukee and promised all of their ten votes to Henderson. Hopkins had believed the vote would be six to four in his favor, and that this would force Henderson to withdraw his name from the race after a complimentary vote of his state delegation. Now it meant Hopkins would probably be the one to withdraw, giving Henderson a clear field in the Midwest. The Wisconsin victory had been engineered by Joseph Babcock, a Wisconsin Representative; by State Senator Stout of Menomonie; and by James A. Tawney of Minnesota. With this victory Tawney confidently predicted that another key Midwestern state, Michigan, would follow. Babcock, who, as it later became known, acted as Henderson's national manager, thought that Henderson's election was now assured. He claimed 65 votes from the upper Mississippi Valley and central western states, leaving only 28 to pick up.<sup>26</sup>

Hopkins, following the Wisconsin loss, made several indiscreet remarks in a Chicago speech, in a vain but futile effort to undo the damage. He noted the sectional character of the race, vying for the support of the di-

<sup>24</sup> Dubuque *Times*, May 26, 1899.

<sup>25</sup> Henderson to Allison, May 28, 1899; Henderson to F. W. Bicknell, Esq., May 29, 1899, Box 333, *Allison Papers*.

<sup>26</sup> Dubuque *Times*, May 30, 1899.



verse political elements with promises of more liberality in conducting the Speaker's duties than Reed had used. Since Sherman, Dalzell, Henderson, Moody, and Payne had all "spelled" Reed in the chair, they would probably follow his methods. Therefore, Hopkins argued that he would be a better prospect because of his promises of liberality. These remarks probably won Hopkins a few friends but must have turned the Reed supporters away from him, no doubt helping Henderson, who was fairly close to Reed in some respects.<sup>27</sup>

The Ohio Republican delegation met a few days later, with twelve of the fifteen members present; the three other members having agreed to accept the majority decision. An informal vote went nine to three in favor of Henderson, and the formal vote eleven to one, with Seth W. Brown casting the single opposing vote, because he did not want to be pledged so far in advance. This meant that Grosvenor, himself a potential candidate, had supported Henderson. The Ohio move encouraged others, and now Minnesota seemed ready to fall in line. Several eastern delegates also announced their support.<sup>28</sup>

By June 5 the contest was over, whether or not some of the candidates would admit it. Henderson notified Allison:

Have many more than enough votes you my old friend will be glad to know. . . . I do not know what Mr. Sherman will do today, but with a solid army moving up from the west and with him surrounded in the east, I do not see how he can afford to remain in the field. I have thirty-seven more than enough to nominate now, with new ones coming in constantly and with Michigan to hear from tomorrow.<sup>29</sup>

With Henderson's election assured, eastern support solidified behind him. There had been some claims that the struggle had been of a sectional character, but this did not seem a logical explanation, since one-half of the 102 votes pledged for Henderson were from east of Illinois, with a fair share from New England. Sectionalism, if it existed, was in the East.<sup>30</sup> The withdrawal of Sherman and Payne was now anticipated, and the Iowa dele-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, June 6, 1899. F. H. Gillett of the Massachusetts House delegation wrote Henderson indicating that they had agreed to support Henderson after William H. Moody of their own state formally declined.

<sup>29</sup> Henderson to Allison, June 6, 1899, Box 333, *Allison Papers*.

<sup>30</sup> *Dubuque Times*, June 6, 1899. The distribution of the votes pledged was as

gation abandoned a proposed meeting on June 6, since there was no need for it. Henderson was to be congratulated, particularly since it was reported that no pledges had been made by him.

The period between June and December, 1899, was one of "no contest," because the issue had been settled. On December 1, a Republican party caucus met in Washington to determine the official party nominees for House officers. No difficulty over the prepared slate of House vacancies was expected, and none occurred. This had been taken care of the day the Wisconsin delegation voted for Henderson. Usually an animated affair, the caucus was a cut-and-dried one, since all opposing candidates had been eliminated months before. Grosvenor presided over the meeting, and Payne presented Henderson's name. Hopkins gave the seconding speech, and the nomination was approved by acclamation. While these formalities were being witnessed, Henderson remained in the Speaker's room. After the election of officers, Payne, Hopkins, and Sherman escorted Henderson to the rostrum, where he spoke briefly on the need for economy.<sup>31</sup>

On December 4, 1899, formal action was taken in the House. Henderson was nominated by Grosvenor; his Democratic opponent was James D. Richardson of Tennessee. In the formal voting, Henderson received 177 votes to 153 for Richardson, 2 for Francis G. Newlands, a Nevada silverite, and 4 for John C. Bell, a Colorado Populist.<sup>32</sup>

There was naturally much speculation concerning the new Speaker. Henderson was generally considered to be popular in his own district, where many Democrats voted for him. He was of high and incorruptible character, and his long service in Congress had made him familiar with House precedents and practices. His lofty patriotism and personal magnetism enhanced his ability as a leader.<sup>33</sup> Sincerity was the main feature of his character, although in consideration of public questions he was inclined to be emotional rather than philosophical, and some doubted his ability to retain prestige. His foreign birth gave him one definite advantage, since it

follows: Iowa 11, Illinois 14, Wisconsin 10, Minnesota 7, Nebraska 2, Colorado 3, Kentucky 4, South Dakota 2, Wyoming 1, Ohio 14. Probable pledges were: Massachusetts, 8 of 12; New Jersey, 2 of 4; Maine, 2 of 2; Vermont, 1 of 1; Kansas, 5; Connecticut, 1 of 3; Indiana, 3 of 6; Michigan, 5 of 12; New Hampshire, 1 of 1; North Carolina, 1 of 1; Tennessee, 1 of 1; Washington, 1 of 1; West Virginia, 1 of 1.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1899.

<sup>32</sup> *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 5.

<sup>33</sup> "Czar Reed's Speaker Presumptive," *Review of Reviews*, 20:19 (July, 1899).

made him ineligible for the presidency. This enabled him to devote his full time to the speakership without fear of the political consequences. He was expected to show firmness and efficiency in carrying out administration policy, despite a strong tendency toward independence.<sup>34</sup>

It has been said that the work of the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress followed close to the line of least resistance.<sup>35</sup> This was probably true, but it must be remembered that the period was one of indecision, when many of the strong leaders were unhappily faced with the specter of expansionism. If they hesitated as they struggled with the problems before them, it was only natural; if they sometimes fumbled and erred in their decisions, it should be understandable.

One positive piece of work resulted in the Gold Standard Act of 1900, which lasted unamended until March 4, 1933. This Act, the climax of a long struggle, was the result of the work of the Atlantic City caucus committee of which Henderson had been chairman. It provided that the gold dollar "should be the standard monetary unit of value and that all other forms of money should be maintained at a parity value with this standard,"<sup>36</sup> which was the general policy in practice after 1879. After thirty years of monetary discussion, which included the greenback and the silver agitation, a sound money bill had been approved. The recommendations of the Atlantic City committee had certainly increased Henderson's prestige, and the bill, which passed unamended, united the Republicans behind this single metallic standard and did much to appease the pro-McKinley, anti-Bryan Gold Democrats.

But if this was a "do-nothing" Congress, Henderson was an apparent success as Speaker. When the session ended, after three and one-half months, both sides of the House rose from their seats and expressed their appreciation of him by joining in the singing of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."<sup>37</sup>

On the horizon the ominous clouds had already begun to gather, however. Early in 1900 the McKinley administration had proposed that the army be

<sup>34</sup> "Roberts of Utah and Henderson," *Independent*, 51:356-8 (December, 1899); "The New Speaker," *Current Literature*, 27:114-15 (February, 1900); "Post Speaker Election Advice: A Word to the New Speaker," *Forum*, 28:57 (December, 1899); Henry Loomis Nelson, "The Next Speaker and the Next Session," *Harper's Weekly*, 43:1138 (November, 1899).

<sup>35</sup> Stephenson, *Aldrich*, 162.

<sup>36</sup> 31 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Chap. 41.

<sup>37</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, July 3, 1900.

removed from Puerto Rico and a civil government be established there. Since this island was extremely poor, the United States would need to support, in some manner, any local government until it could begin to function adequately. This need for additional revenue brought with it the question of the United States tariff relationship to Puerto Rico, as well as to Cuba and the other newly acquired possessions. McKinley took the position that it was "our plain duty . . . to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico [sic] and give her products free access to our markets."<sup>38</sup>

During the summer of 1900, Joseph W. Babcock of Wisconsin threatened to rebel against the House leadership unless the existing tariff rates were reduced. Babcock had become increasingly alarmed by business mergers, and in the summer of 1900 he wanted to bring up in the fall session of Congress the entire trust question and its relationship to the tariff. Henderson certainly did not support this move, but despite these verbal warnings he retained his faith in Babcock, promoting him to the Ways and Means Committee in the final session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. Babcock, however, was not appeased by the appointment and continued his efforts toward trust regulation and tariff reduction. During the next three congressional sessions, he introduced a number of resolutions to remove the tariff duties on iron, steel, and coal, but he failed to find sufficient support for any of them.<sup>39</sup>

It has already been noted that Henderson had originally been an anti-expansionist. The possession of Hawaii was not, in his thinking, reason for annexing the Philippines or Puerto Rico. But the war was over, and the problem was to establish a realistic policy for a *fait accompli*. We should not, however, retain permanent control of these areas, said Henderson. We must answer the questions: "What should we do with the islands?" "How shall we treat them?" Henderson had always supported the "historical" Republican high protection policy and could see no reason that it should not still apply. He felt his first duty was to the United States, his second to the newly acquired possessions.

<sup>38</sup> "Government for the Islands," *Independent*, 51:3322 (December, 1899).

<sup>39</sup> Compiled from research paper prepared by the writer on "Joseph W. Babcock" at Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, in 1956. Babcock was never a Progressive in the La Follette sense, completely breaking with the latter in 1902. He continued to act as chairman of the Republican congressional campaign committee until 1906. He was defeated by a Progressive supported by the Democrats in the 1907 congressional election.



To secure the revenue needed to operate a government in Puerto Rico, it was proposed that a tariff be applied to that area at the rate of 15 per cent to the dollar of the Dingley tariff rates. Immediately there was a storm of protest. Henderson, who supported the proposition, was particularly stung by the storm. In a much discussed letter to a constituent, which found its way into print, Henderson explained his attitude. Large quantities of tobacco and sugar had been bought up in Puerto Rico by the trusts and syndicates. They wanted to enter these goods without paying the duty that they would now have to pay. It would mean a profit of hundreds of thousands of dollars if they did not pay taxes. The syndicates were fighting the bill without an organized lobby, but they were fighting actively. The codfish and the flour interests were two other groups trying to get into Puerto Rico without paying the duty. That was the real reason for "free trade" demands. The tax was to be used to pay the expense of civil government, which a poor Puerto Rico could not pay. The United States should not have to pay it; the people of Puerto Rico should, but they must have local government first. In one and one-half or two years they could have one running, but a source of dollars was needed in the meantime. The main question, as Henderson understood it, was "should we follow the advice of the syndicates and trusts and tax this island's limited production, or do as we propose, put this trifling duty upon the exports and imports of the Puerto Ricans and give every dollar of it back to them to run their government?" The tax would be felt only by the syndicates, trusts, and interests doing the buying and shipping there, or it would fall lightly upon the consumers, while a direct tax upon the Puerto Rican inhabitants would be brutal and inhuman. The bill was to expire in two years and was not a permanent duty on Puerto Rico but a temporary expedient for her own interests. The individual Representative, declared Henderson, should always ask himself, "What is my duty?" This, he concluded, is what he had done in trying to map out a plan for the present needs of Puerto Rico.<sup>40</sup>

In a later letter to a Minnesota friend, which was also published, Henderson scored the Senate and the opponents of the Puerto Rico bill, charging that those fighting the measure really were interested in the future of free trade with ten million Philippine savages. What the tariff men were fighting

<sup>40</sup> Henderson to Ed Knott, U. S. Marshal of Northern Iowa District, as published in the *Cedar Falls Gazette*, Mar. 30, 1900.

for was the power of Congress to rule the so-called colonies outside the Constitution. It was important, Henderson believed, "to have established that we can treat our new possessions in such cases as may seem best to the Government, consulting its interests and the interests of the possession that we are bound to take care of."<sup>41</sup>

In the Senate, however, the emphasis of the bill, under Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, was changed from tariff to government. The House had opposed considering this question, and could not be depended upon to sustain the amendments if submitted. Henderson and the managers of the bill in the House decided to avoid debate by forcing through a motion to concur with the Senate amendments. In this they succeeded, and the so-called Foraker Act for the government of Puerto Rico, which included the 15 per cent tariff provision, passed the House on April 11, 1900.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, in Henderson's home state, a Conservative-Progressive struggle was developing that would soon have national effect. Albert Baird Cummins, ultimately three times Governor of Iowa and for many years a United States Senator, was one of the leaders of the Progressive movement.<sup>43</sup> This struggle in Iowa took root in the tariff issue, and it was there that many of the early battles of the Progressive campaign were fought.

On August 7, 1901, the Republicans held their Iowa state convention at Cedar Rapids, where they adopted a tariff and trust resolution that at first gained little notice. But this "Iowa Idea" soon attracted continued recognition, as its full significance became realized. It read, in part:

We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities.

That we assert the sovereignty of the people over all corporations and aggregations of capital and the right residing in the people to enforce such regulations, restrictions, or prohibitions upon corporate management as will protect the individual and society from abuse of the power which great combinations of capital

<sup>41</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 1, 1900. Addressee not identified.

<sup>42</sup> *Cong. Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 4028-4033, 4071; 31 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Chap. 191.

<sup>43</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4:597-9.

yield. We favor such amendments of the interstate commerce act as will more fully carry out its prohibition of discrimination in rate making and any modifications of the tariff schedules that may be required to prevent their affording a shelter to monopoly.<sup>44</sup>

Certainly David B. Henderson could not fully accept the spirit of this program. But there were prominent Iowans who could and did, including Jonathan P. Dolliver, who had replaced John H. Gear in the Senate. In January, 1902, in a speech of acceptance before the Republican caucus that nominated him to the Senate, Dolliver declared that the purpose of the protective tariff was to protect American industry. "But we are not blind to the fact that in many lines of industry tariff rates which in 1897 were reasonable have already become unnecessary and in many cases absurd."<sup>45</sup>

Partly because of Henderson's tariff stand and partly for more personal reasons, a campaign to discredit the Speaker was getting under way. It was a systematic, organized effort inspired by large special interests that had hoped to profit from questionable legislation that the Speaker had blocked. Henderson, who had been re-elected as Speaker of the Fifty-seventh Congress on December 2, 1901, had proved to be a real leader in the House, but many felt that his decisions were too arbitrary. He had never been in sympathy with a major tariff reduction, and he used his position to prevent its serious consideration, even when some of his close friends were advocating it.<sup>46</sup>

Locally the efforts took the form of a letter to Henderson from A. J. Edwards of Waterloo on January 16, 1902. It included a petition, signed by many leading men in his district, asking for a revision of the tariff, especially reduction or removal of all duties on goods manufactured in this country but sold at a lower price in foreign countries. In reply, Henderson acknowledged the petition, agreed that some revision in certain parts of the tariff schedule could be justly made, but claimed there was the danger that it would bring up the question of the whole tariff program, which was undesirable at this time. Henderson agreed with President Theodore Roosevelt, who had said that any questioning of the tariff system as a whole would threaten the continuity and stability of the country's entire economic

<sup>44</sup> George E. Roberts, "The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 2:69-70 (January, 1904).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>46</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, July 11, 1902.

and business structure. Reciprocal trade agreements would be more beneficial than tariff revision. Henderson's personal opinion was that the reduction of taxes was a more important question. Continued talk of tariff reduction would check business and encourage jobbers to suspend large purchases. In turn, this would force manufacturers to reduce business and then to cut payrolls; this would mean less purchasing power, and recession would result.<sup>47</sup>

The Edwards letter was a part of the anti-Henderson campaign that had been maturing for some time. The local centers of it seemed to be in Black Hawk and Hardin counties. One newspaper claimed that Henderson had opposed his constituents' wishes since 1896 on all of the major issues — currency, the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rican tariff, the bankruptcy bill, and tariff revision. Some of the charges held truth, but Henderson's real record seems to have been considerably better than was being pictured. On the currency question he had supported the Gold Standard Act of 1900. Approved without amendments, it had effectually harmonized conflicting party interests. With McKinley and other administration leaders, Henderson had tried to prevent a war with Spain, but when it could not be avoided he had wholeheartedly supported it and had brought in the House rule that permitted war to be declared. The Puerto Rican tariff had been vindicated by results: the revenue from customs had been appropriated by Congress to tide the Puerto Rican government over during the period required for organization and initiation of its own revenues. It is true that Henderson had been responsible for the bankruptcy bill that many of his constituents opposed, but the measure had started with citizens' petitions within his own district. No opposition to it developed until the bill had been favorably reported by the House. Some of the original petitioners, who had undergone a change of mind, should not have expected Henderson, who was chairman of the Judiciary Committee that was behind the bill, to abandon it. Henderson had, in fact, gone out of his way to find out the opinions of his constituents on the matter before beginning action.<sup>48</sup>

One of the accusations against Henderson was that he had lost many former friends and supporters since becoming Speaker and that much bad

<sup>47</sup> Henderson to A. J. Edwards, Esq., Waterloo, Iowa, as published in the *Dubuque Times*, Feb. 7, 1902.

<sup>48</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Mar. 25, 1902; "The Speaker's Record," *Dubuque Times*, Feb. 18, 1902, as taken from the *Waterloo Courier*.



feeling toward him was evident within his own district. J. T. Hancock, former Republican state central committee chairman, admitted to Allison that he believed it would only be a matter of time before Henderson would fail for renomination "unless he pursued different tactics." Two or three men in the western part of Henderson's district were grooming themselves to enter the race, and Henderson needed to realize the seriousness of the danger. A few days later Hancock again warned Allison of the surprisingly strong sentiment against the Speaker because of his stand against Cuba and Puerto Rico. But Henderson was in no immediate danger, although steps needed to be taken to head off the anti-Henderson sentiment, a large part of which Hancock believed had resulted from ignorance of the real situation. In standing against the will of his constituents, the Speaker had shown strength and courage, but he needed to be more diplomatic and not cause such bitter feelings.<sup>49</sup>

Taking note of the general criticism, Henderson defended his position on Cuba. In a letter to a constituent, he stated that those who argued for a 50 per cent reduction of tariff rates were members of the American sugar trust. They were those who had money invested in railroads, plantations, and cheap land. They were members of a syndicate formed to make fortunes out of sugar. Despite "lies" sent out by the press, Henderson had stood with the President and the Ways and Means Committee in trying to devise a plan that would encourage Cuba yet not injure Iowa, his first duty being to see that his own state's farming interests were not hurt.<sup>50</sup> The beet sugar industry in California, Colorado, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Michigan opposed tariff reduction, because for the first time in the history of the country the farmer had a direct interest in protection. Iowa and the entire Midwest could benefit from this tariff by growing beets if they wished. In mid-March, 1902, Henderson and the administration forces won a decisive victory for reciprocity when they defeated the beet sugar forces on that question in a bitter struggle in the House.<sup>51</sup>

But Henderson received very few favorable comments for his action. In a newspaper interview he had put forth two hypothetical questions regard-

<sup>49</sup> J. T. Hancock to Allison, Feb. 20, 26, 1902, Box 347, *Allison Papers*. Charges were enumerated in a clipping from the *Chicago Tribune*.

<sup>50</sup> Henderson to J. H. Funk, Iowa Falls, Iowa, Feb. 20, 1902, in *Dubuque Times*, Feb. 21, 1902.

<sup>51</sup> *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 2639-62.

ing the problem. He had said that the Cuban question had two parts. One, "Is it the duty of the Congress to do something in aid of Cuba?" If the answer was yes, the next question was, "How much can we do for Cuba without injuring our own people and our interests at home?" This was the real issue involved in the dispute, and the questions had been correctly taken as statements of opinion. Henderson would have gladly helped Cuba, but not at the expense of his country.<sup>52</sup>

In April, 1902, Governor Albert Baird Cummins made a speech in Minneapolis, during which he elaborated his own views on tariff regulation, commenting: "The consumer is better entitled to competition than the producer is to protection where the producer is a monopoly."<sup>53</sup> This statement in general terms expressed the philosophy of the Progressive faction. Henderson could not accept this definition of the value of the protective tariff, because it implied that trusts did result from tariff. The Progressives of the Iowa Republican party knew this, and in mid-March they openly declared their revolt when they announced that O. B. Courtright, a lawyer, judge, and state senator, would contest Henderson's congressional seat.<sup>54</sup>

The pro-Henderson Cedar Falls *Gazette* immediately replied that Courtright was a hard worker and a good lawyer but that he lacked legislative experience, whereas Henderson had a national reputation. The Speaker had always faithfully represented his constituents despite adverse criticism and misrepresentation by many newspapers in his district. He had always stood with the President, and his present relations with that office could not have been more cordial. But the opposition continued, despite the firm denials that Henderson and the Republican leaders, especially those on the Ways and Means Committee, were opposed to Roosevelt's plan for aid to Cuba.<sup>55</sup>

To face the new opposition, a meeting of the delegates of the Third District nominating convention was called for May 1 rather than in the middle or late summer as was the usual case. Courtright, who had been a reluctant candidate when he agreed to announce his candidacy, withdrew his name from consideration, giving as his reason the early convention date.

<sup>52</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Mar. 14, 1902.

<sup>53</sup> Roberts, "Origin and History of the Iowa Idea," 74.

<sup>54</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Mar. 14, 1902.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1902; also Julian W. Richards, "Speaker Henderson's Critics," *Independent*, 54:667-9 (March 20, 1902).

His friends had obviously hoped to campaign several months for him while Henderson remained in Washington. Defenders of Henderson maintained that the early convention date made no real difference as a later one would only have increased Henderson's margin. One friend stated that diminishing support within Black Hawk County had forced Courtright out of the race. The real reason for the opposition in the first place, said some, was that Henderson had not made the "right" postal appointments and would not stand on the platform regarding the tariff. Still another thought that Courtright was only advertising for the future, since there was no real chance for him as long as Henderson held office.<sup>56</sup>

When the convention met in Waterloo on May 1, Henderson was re-nominated by acclamation without opposition. The expected reverberations never materialized, although the discontent remained latent and in a position to erupt at any time with disastrous political consequences. Senator Allison did not attend the convention, and it was just as well, since his presence might have given rise to the idea that Henderson's case was "critical," which was not true and not a desirable thing to suggest.<sup>57</sup>

But in Iowa the political picture was anything but bright for Henderson. Governor Albert Baird Cummins appointed Robert Santee of Cedar Falls, one of the leaders of the insurgency against Henderson, as state oil inspector. This political plum had been filled by supporters of Allison and Henderson for many years,<sup>58</sup> and its loss was a clear indication of a shift in political power.

Throughout the summer of 1902 the Conservative-Progressive battle in Iowa raged, while the nation watched with speculative interest. Words of

<sup>56</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Apr. 8, 11, 1902; Dubuque *Times*, Apr. 22, 1902. Courtright's resignation letter was carried on Apr. 18, 1902, in the Waterloo *Courier*.

<sup>57</sup> Dubuque *Weekly Times*, May 2, 1902; John H. Leavitt to Allison, May 3, 1902; Box 82, Allison Papers.

<sup>58</sup> In February, 1901, J. T. Hancock wrote Henderson and Allison that Governor Leslie M. Shaw would enter, for Senate confirmation, the name of D. C. Huntoon, a former member of the Republican state central committee, for coal-oil inspector for the Dubuque District, if Allison and Henderson approved. Henderson's comment to Allison was: "It is impossible for me to desert Udall [the incumbent]." Allison replied, "I am committed to Udall." This was sufficient to deter Huntoon, who wrote Henderson in September that he would try for the Secretary of State office if Henderson, Allison, and Hancock approved. Senator Dolliver had already promised his support. Hancock to Henderson, Feb. 6, 1900; Hancock to Allison, Feb. 6, 1900; Henderson to Allison, Feb. 8, 1900; Allison to Henderson, Feb. 10, 1900; Henderson to Allison, Feb. 11, 1900, Box 187, Allison Papers.

warning flashed between Republicans as the state convention neared. Allison, in writing to Richard P. Clarkson, owner of the influential *Des Moines Register and Leader*, stressed that the Republican platform must contain a plain and clear statement on the tariff because of the "interest taken in our speaker."<sup>59</sup> But when the convention did meet, no agreement upon revising the tariff and trust sections of the platform could be reached, so the platform of 1901 was readopted without change.

About September 14, 1902, Henderson met with his county managers and again defined his tariff-trust position. He reiterated his acceptance of the Iowa Republican platform, acknowledging the need for stringent regulation of the trusts, but denied the truth of the intimation of the tariff revision plank that the tariff was a "shelter" to trusts. Monopolies, he asserted, had been forming for decades, combining with other interests, and were not easy to deal with. Some people had the idea that they grew out of the protective tariff and that by destroying the tariff they would destroy the combinations of capital.<sup>60</sup>

In early July a lengthy national campaign speaking tour, during which Henderson would stump for Representatives in doubtful districts, had been announced. Now, on September 16, 1902, it was revealed that his Iowa speeches would be presented at an earlier date than first anticipated, because he had so many national speeches to give in close districts.<sup>61</sup>

On this same day President Theodore Roosevelt was holding his now famous Oyster Bay Conference. Senators Mark Hanna, Henry Cabot Lodge, Nelson W. Aldrich, William B. Allison, and John C. Spooner were in attendance.<sup>62</sup> One might well ask, "Where was Speaker Henderson?" "Why was he not invited?" Had his influence diminished to the point where his presence was not considered necessary? Or would his presence be detrimental to the discussion, in view of his determined opposition to change?

Whatever the answer, it was during this conference that Henderson exploded his political bombshell. On the evening of September 16 he sudden-

<sup>59</sup> Allison to R. P. Clarkson, July 15, 1902, *R. P. Clarkson Scrapbook*, as quoted in Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison: A Study in Practical Politics* (Iowa City, 1956), 286.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1902; *Cedar Falls Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1902.

<sup>61</sup> *Cedar Falls Gazette*, July 11, Sept. 16, 1902.

<sup>62</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1902.



ly announced his retirement. In a telegram to Allison he gave his reasons: "Being satisfied that I am not in harmony with many of our party who believe that free trade in whole or in part [is the] remedy [for] the trust evil I have withdrawn from the congressional race."<sup>63</sup> The following day, having received a wire from Allison, Henderson elaborated upon his remarks:

I appreciate, Senator, your telegram, but you do not appreciate conditions here. I feel a growing repugnance and conviction against the doctrine that free trade medicine will cure the trusts, and cannot permit myself to be a candidate when I know that there is a growing sentiment of that kind in my District among the Republicans. The District will not be lost to the party. Boies is a weak candidate, and will surely be beaten by his Republican opponent. At my age, and holding my position, I ought to be exempt from the dirty mud slinging of Waterloo Republicans, and have no disposition to longer submit to it, and all because I made a faithful and good soldier postmaster, and turned down a young fellow who owned a petty newspaper. They are charging me at Waterloo with being a drunkard. They have set a prohibition candidate to work charging me with authorizing saloon keeping in the House restaurant, peddling the charge industriously through my district, and although I have given a \$150,000 public building to Waterloo there doesn't seem to be force or power enough there to secure for me the support of even one of the Republican papers. Am even denounced by my county chairman for proposing to leave my state to help in the National campaign. My District has suddenly come to the conclusion that I am a millionaire [sic] and everybody is bleeding me. I cannot and will not submit to these annoyances in addition to the grave question which I first referred to. There is no way to reconsider. My declination has gone out and the woods are full of new candidates. I wanted you the last few days very much, but you had gone when I returned from Waterloo.

Take pains to explain fully to the National committee, as I am wiring you about things that I cannot wire to any one else. A telegram from the President, and a long one from the National committee, strongly endorsed by Senators Aldrich, Spooner and Lodge, together with your telegram, disturb me not a little, but it is too late to reconsider, and I believe I could satisfy any of them if I could sit down with them alone that I am justified in

<sup>63</sup> Henderson to Allison at Oyster Bay, Sept. 16, 1902, Box 346, *Allison Papers*. See also, Sage, *Allison*, 285-8.

my course. I could spend all my time straightening out Republicans on the Patterson matter, the Sindlinger appointment, trusts and tariffs, and I have neither the time nor the strength for such work. Can fight Democrats and Populists, but not the other class.<sup>64</sup>

In a letter to C. E. Albrook, chairman of the notification committee, Henderson apologized for not having officially replied to the notification message:

Reported conditions in the public mind in my district upon public policies induced me to make this delay.

Since my return to the district I have made a careful study as to the sentiment in the district and State, and I believe there is no little sentiment, and a growing sentiment, among Republicans, that I do not truly represent their views on the tariff question. Believing this condition to exist and knowing I do not agree with many of my people that trusts, to which I am and have been opposed, can be cured or the people benefited by free trade, in whole or in part, I must decline to accept the nomination so generously and enthusiastically made.

I have devoted twenty years of the best years of my life to the service of my people and my country, and I have fought for what I believe to be best for the farmer, the laborer, and the business interests of my district and state.<sup>65</sup>

Almost as an afterthought, it seemed, he added that he would later explain why the people should continue to vote Republican.

The decision had not been easy. Henderson admitted he had been thinking of it for two weeks and had told some of his friends on Monday. Immediately before making the announcement, he had spent several hours with Chairman Glasser of the congressional committee and other friends,

<sup>64</sup> Henderson to Allison, Sept. 17, 1902, *Allison Papers*. Horace Boies, governor of Iowa from 1890 to 1894, was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third District.

<sup>65</sup> Henderson to C. E. Albrook, in *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1902. It is a misconception to believe that Henderson had not previously accepted the Republican nomination. On May 1, 1902, he had telegraphed from Washington to the delegates to the Third District convention: "The known action and primary election caucus and convention of the Third Iowa District warrants me in assuming that I will be nominated today at Waterloo and I cannot withhold my expressions of gratitude to the generous Republicans of our district who have eleven times trusted me and honored me by unanimous nomination. Such devotion strengthens hands and heart and the work in behalf of the people of my district, my state, and my country. Please convey my thanks and heartfelt greeting to the people whom we represent."

before sending Lee McNeely, his private secretary, to the Dubuque newspapers with the story.<sup>66</sup>

Why had Henderson taken his drastic step? Were there other reasons beside those he had given Allison? There were many speculative answers, but no one seemed really to know. Mrs. Henderson was particularly happy over the resignation, for she had never enjoyed public life. It is also known that on the day of the announcement Henderson had told some of his friends that he had been troubled with insomnia and that his health would break down if he were forced to campaign. Throughout his public career he had been under great pressure, and he constantly suffered from the loss of his left foot, a wound that had never healed. One Senaotr remarked that for many years physical pain had undermined Henderson's nervous system. The demands upon his vitality and powers of resistance had made him impulsive and morbid at times and had "destroyed the fine balance of control nature endowed him with. . . . Gentlemen, remember that David B. Henderson was a hero of the war, and that for two generations he had carried with him a hell of pain. Be charitable." He had his faults, yes, but he was generous, big-hearted, and had legions of warm friends. Another observer, writing later, remarked that Henderson had lacked stability through the late sessions of Congress and was suffering from an impaired mind. Certainly Judge Oliver P. Shiras added substance to such rumors when he announced that Henderson's reason for retirement stemmed from his old army wound.<sup>67</sup>

Some thought that the resignation was a move to expose Republican dissension regarding the tariff. It was suggested that the Speaker wanted not only to get out of his race for Congress but out of the general campaign as well. The first evidence of a split had come in February on the war revenue bill. Prior to that time Babcock and other Representatives advocating tariff revision had not been taken seriously, but when the bill came up the strong support of the Middle West and the Northwest for revision was evident. The House machine resorted to introducing the bill with a rule prohibiting amendments, and the Democrats refused to debate the bill after Richardson, the Democratic floor leader, was unable to get Babcock's cooperation in opposing it. But when Cuban reciprocity came up for debate,

<sup>66</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1902.

<sup>67</sup> Dubuque *Daily Times*, Feb. 26, 1902; Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1902; Hubert B. Fuller, *The Speakers of the House* (Boston, 1909), 248.

an amendment to put hides on the free list was defeated by only sixteen votes. All other attempted amendments to the act were then arbitrarily ruled out of order by Speaker Henderson. The plan, as concocted by Henderson, Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw (of Denison, Iowa), and Representative Grosvenor of Ohio, was to argue that the Republicans had revised the tariff in part and that it would be necessary to revise it again at a later time but not during the present session. In his Waterloo speech, shortly before his resignation, Henderson had claimed to stand on the Iowa platform just as Secretary Shaw did, but this was not a satisfactory answer for his supporters. The very night of Henderson's resignation, it was reported that some Black Hawk County Republicans were meeting to plan support for the Democratic nominee, Horace Boies, rather than for Colonel Henderson.<sup>68</sup>

There was even speculation that Henderson may have been forced off the ticket by a request for his declination, but there is no evidence to support this thesis. He may have been asked to make tariff revision speeches, which he would not do, and having found his position intolerable, and being completely out of touch with his state, just as Reed had found himself out of touch with the nation a few years earlier, he had resigned.<sup>69</sup>

Undoubtedly Henderson was nettled by local opposition, and he disliked the criticism of his moral life, as was evident in his telegram to Allison. A contest for the speakership may also have awaited him when he returned to Congress. A possible rival had been suggested earlier, but this danger had probably passed. Some assumed that Henderson was angry because he had not been invited to the Oyster Bay conference to confer on the tariff in which he was so vitally interested, and the fact that he chose the first day of this meeting to announce his resignation probably had some significance. Others believed Henderson realized that he lacked the strong personality to control the popular branch of Congress, because the Reed rules, necessary to operate the House effectively, demanded a firm hand.<sup>70</sup>

A few unhappy Republicans felt that Henderson had taken the cowardly way out because he feared defeat. Strong resentment was reported because he did not speak in the canvass as planned, and there was a decided feeling

<sup>68</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1902.

<sup>69</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>70</sup> "Comment," *Harper's Weekly*, 46:1354 (September, 1902).



that he should have campaigned and then resigned as Reed had done.<sup>71</sup> But it must be remembered that Henderson had not resigned his seat in Congress and that he was to remain Speaker for at least one more session. He had merely declined to be a candidate for re-election, which meant that, unlike Reed, he would continue to serve out his term. Certainly if the object of his resignation had been to bring the tariff issue to a head, no better time could have been chosen to announce his withdrawal.

Grenville M. Dodge, another ex-Iowan who had been a Civil War general, an Iowa Congressman, and a nationally known railroad builder, wrote to Henderson from New York, where he was making his home:

There is one thing certain, people, especially here in the East, give you credit for having laid down a great future in support of a principle as they make a vast difference here between your position and the Iowa platform. I admit I cannot see much difference between your position and that of Allison, or that of any of the others who have explained it, but whether there is a difference or not, people in the East generally assume there is, and praise you for the position that you take though they would have preferred to have you stick and fight it out.<sup>72</sup>

Whatever else the resignation might have meant, it was a definite victory for the Cummins machine in the fight to gain control of Iowa politics and promote tariff reform. Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw, a member of the Henderson faction of the Republican party, was now in the minority. Try as he could, Shaw was unable to reconcile Henderson's statements, following his resignation, with the party platform.<sup>73</sup>

There were other results. Henderson had created trouble within the Republican party that could have defeated it if the Democrats had been strong enough to take advantage of their opportunity. The Speaker had taken himself out of public life after exposing the troubles agitating his party and had forced the leaders into a defense of the tariff, when evasion had been the intention.<sup>74</sup> When the resignation was announced there was fear among Republicans that it would adversely affect the election, but the

<sup>71</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1902; "How Mr. Henderson's Withdrawal is Viewed," *New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1902.

<sup>72</sup> Dodge to Henderson, Oct. 16, 1902, *Grenville M. Dodge Papers* (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa), quoted in Stephenson, *Aldrich*, 454.

<sup>73</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1902.

<sup>74</sup> "Editorial," *Harper's Weekly*, 46:1399-1400 (October, 1902).

results were not disastrous. In Henderson's Iowa district the original delegates reconvened and selected another candidate to represent the party: Judge Benjamin P. Birdsall of Wright County.<sup>75</sup> Birdsall won by a generous margin in the general election, probably vindicating the assumption that Henderson could have been re-elected without difficulty. Nor did the Republicans suffer in the national election, as some had feared. They retained control of both houses of Congress, and it was to be some time before they lost this dominance. Henderson's surprising withdrawal apparently had had little harmful effect, but it had helped to focus attention more clearly upon an important national problem and intraparty conflict.

In December, 1902, Henderson returned to Washington for his last session of Congress. He remained interested and active in legislation, but his approach was undoubtedly more partisan than previously. Why not, since he firmly believed in Republicanism and had nothing to gain now by following the middle way?

Throughout January and February of this last session, President Roosevelt attempted to bolster the sagging Philippine economy through a reform of the currency and tariff structure. Henderson worked "with the administration" on these measures, helping Joseph G. Cannon to obtain a satisfactory currency measures through the House in March, 1903.<sup>76</sup> But tariff reduction was another matter. In February, Henderson expressed his views regarding the tariff in reply to an Iowan's petition:

I have strongly favored reciprocity, where the trades or swaps could be effected for the good of our own people, and strongly urged Senate action in the last session of Congress if it were possible, assuming a very general feeling in the Senate for the treaties if they did not work a great disadvantage to the interests of this country. A trade is always a good thing if we get as good as the other fellow, or better, and that is the question before the Senate and Executive.

The trouble about all of these matters is that, while you lay down doctriner [sic] you do not tell us what to do. Like the speech of our governor [Cummins] yesterday in Detroit — full of criticism reflecting on the President and the Congress in general terms, yet not specifying a single thing to be done. Remember . . .

<sup>75</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1902.

<sup>76</sup> Roosevelt to Elihu Root, Feb. 16, 1903, in E. E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 3:428.

it is very easy to criticize, and to tear down, but it is quite another thing to build wisely.

It will give me great pleasure to lay your communication before Senators Allison and Dolliver, as it is in the Senate where these Reciprocity problems will have to be solved.<sup>77</sup>

Henderson was the conscientious servant to the end.

The task of evaluating Henderson's service as Speaker is doubly difficult, because he followed Reed's strong personality. Too, senatorial power was at its peak, somewhat overshadowing the lower house. It was claimed that the Henderson speakership suffered because of his unpopularity with newspapermen. In the beginning, Henderson's management of the House had been unpretentious, systematic, and effective. There was no wrangling and no vicious debate on bills as there had been under Reed. Henderson was fair to the Democratic leaders, and they made no attempt to harass the House as they had previously. Under Reed, the Speaker concentrated the enormous powers he had been gradually assuming and became a tremendously influential force in legislation. Many considered the speakership second only to the presidency, and none held a higher opinion of the office than did Colonel Henderson.<sup>78</sup>

The Constitution of the United States does not define the Speaker's powers. It says only, "The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker." In practice, he is a Representative, but the other officers of the House are not, and presumably the Speaker need not be.<sup>79</sup> The powers of the Speaker had been consolidated by Reed, but they had been building up for over a hundred years. In the first Congress, the Speaker had no power, but in that session only 143 bills were introduced. One hundred years later 14,032 bills originated in one session, and the number continued to increase. To meet this increase, new methods of handling bills were devised. The result was the committee system, where the prospective bill is reviewed by a small number of Representatives. Soon the House became partially dependent upon the committee recommendations, thus giving the commit-

<sup>77</sup> Henderson to Nath. French, Davenport, Iowa, Feb. 2, 1903, Box 347, *Allison Papers*.

<sup>78</sup> O. O. Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery* (New York, 1906), 304-309. Stealey maintained that the Henderson regime was obscure because the newspapermen felt that he did not cooperate with them in making news items available.

<sup>79</sup> Ewing Cockrell, "The Place and the Man: The Speaker of the House of Representatives," *Arena*, 22:653-66 (December, 1899).

tees great control over legislation. Since the Speaker controlled the committees through appointment, he, in effect, controlled legislation. The ratio of effective control by this method seemed to be in direct proportion to the number of bills introduced. By the time Henderson assumed the speakership the system was so well developed that he was forced to perpetuate it despite personal inclinations to the contrary.

A Speaker has three functions. He is the presiding member of the House, he is the titular head of his party in the House, and he is the Representative of his district. In the latter capacity Henderson was not particularly active during his speakership. He considered it his duty to promote national interests rather than to function as a super-Representative for his own district. In the Fifty-sixth Congress he introduced only fifteen resolutions, thirteen of which were for pension and relief claims. Of these, only six passed. In the following session, eleven of the twenty-two resolutions he introduced were enacted. During these same sessions he relinquished the chair to vote on fourteen occasions, and he answered "present" twice for the purpose of making a quorum. Three of his votes involved Puerto Rican trade or revenue.<sup>80</sup>

Even the opposition agreed at first that Henderson was a success as a presiding officer. He was conservative and tried to cut expenses. He was a loyal party man who knew extreme partisanship at times. Yet he was a popular Speaker, especially in the first three and one-half months, when his rulings were highly satisfactory to both sides. He was firm and determined in asserting his rights and in enforcing rules, although he showed tact and avoided giving offense where Reed had been inconsiderate of his fellows members' feelings. Henderson tried to be impartial and, with considerable success, to develop a judicial temper,<sup>81</sup> but he was always an active partisan. As the first session under his rule ended, the House expressed its appreciation in the form of a resolution that commended his "impartial and dignified manner."<sup>82</sup>

Henderson's task was difficult because he had to control a rebellious House yet avoid any appearance of trying to follow Reed's autocratic ways. Colonel Henderson's solution was the middle path — the Doctrine of the

<sup>80</sup> Chang-wei Chiu, *The Speaker of the House of Representatives Since 1896* (New York, 1928), 42.

<sup>81</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1900.

<sup>82</sup> *Cong. Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., 3605.



Mean. He was successful at first, but signs of dissatisfaction became increasingly evident, until, at the end of the Fifty-seventh Congress, Payne, the Republican floor leader, offered the customary resolution of thanks, knowing that the Democratic minority leader would not. Apologetically, Payne explained his action: "It is not the first time, Mr. Speaker [Cannon was in the chair], that this resolution has been offered by a member of the majority party. . . . There are numerous cases, Mr. Speaker, in which the resolution has met with opposition, in which there have been votes in opposition, and in which a member in sympathy politically with the majority has offered this resolution." Concluding his speech, Payne then demanded the previous question, cutting off debate and forcing the direct vote of the House upon the resolution. Whereupon Charles F. Cochran, a Democrat from Missouri, demanded the yeas and nays, thus expressing the ill-will and resentment of some of the members on his side of the House, but not enough members supported the demand to force a roll-call vote, since only seventeen members arose.<sup>83</sup>

When he assumed the speakership, Henderson had been determined not to play the "Czar" or to follow Reed. Yet he desired to restore the prestige of the House without modifying its organization or permitting undesirable legislation to pass. To effect this, the committee chairmen were organized into a sort of "cabinet." Any prospective legislation was submitted to Henderson, who examined it and then turned it over to a member of his "cabinet" other than the committee sponsor. Sometimes it was also referred to others. This resulted in serious consideration of the bill several times before it became an issue before the House. Usually the "cabinet" met each morning before the regular House session.<sup>84</sup>

According to House rules, members desiring recognition rose and addressed the chair. Under Speaker Reed, the chair had been surrounded by members during the "morning hour," all yelling "Mr. Speaker" in hopes of catching his attention. Reed would calmly survey the clamor, then proceed to recognize in turn members from first one side and then the other, all according to a previously agreed upon procedure. Henderson saw no reason to continue this practice and notified the members that under his administration they should remain seated. They would be recognized in

<sup>83</sup> Chiu, *Speaker of the House*, 293, 294; *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 3071.

<sup>84</sup> Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, 304-309.

turn, recognition depending upon a previously granted schedule after due consideration and approval. This was exactly Reed's practice with the fictional element of spontaneity removed, but nevertheless it caused much resentment. Actually, it probably accelerated legislation.<sup>85</sup>

Certain Henderson rulings lend credence to charges of "Czardom." Under Reed, the custom of inquiring, "For what purpose does the gentleman rise?" developed. Prior to its adoption a Speaker would sometimes mistakenly recognize a member wanting to introduce undesirable resolutions. The new method of inquiring prevented these mistakes. In the Fifty-sixth Congress, in answer to the query, one William Sulzer explained that he favored a resolution expressing sympathy for the Boers, a feeling Henderson did not share. Henderson denied recognition, replying, "The chair must recognize members upon matters which the chair thinks should be considered."<sup>86</sup> On another occasion he strenuously defended himself from the chair after a newspaper had accused him of threatening a fellow member with coercion. One important ruling by Henderson is still in effect. When confronted with the question, "What is a quorum?" Henderson decided that it consisted of a majority of the "members-elect, sworn, and living, who have not resigned or been expelled."<sup>87</sup>

Henderson was undoubtedly not as successful as Reed had been. One reason was his high conception of the Speaker's office. After his election there was a feeling that he had "changed," that he was suffering from vanity. Henderson realized these charges and tried to explain that he no longer had the time nor the right to discuss embarrassing legislative questions which he had enjoyed doing as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Newspaper correspondents who needed a "story" could not accept this, since their interest was news, and they grew increasingly resentful and skeptical of his attitude. This dislike probably contributed greatly to the obscurity that surrounded Henderson's activities as Speaker.<sup>88</sup>

But we should not condemn Henderson for the unhappy ending of his service as Speaker. He was not as strong a man as Reed, and he became a

<sup>85</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>86</sup> *Cong. Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 2876, 2877, 5227; Chiu, *Speaker of the House*, 45.

<sup>87</sup> Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (2 vols., New York, 1920), 1:198-200.

<sup>88</sup> Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, 304-309.

victim of the very rules of the House he had helped to formulate. Henderson was a highly emotional and blindly partisan figure, but his good friends were numbered on both sides of the House. When he assumed office there was an air of rebellion around the Speaker because of the stringency of the "Reed rules," but the necessity of protecting the slim Republican majority required, as John Dalzell pointed out, the continued use of them.<sup>89</sup> Even William P. Hepburn, later to be one of the leaders in the 1909 rebellion against Speaker Cannon, did not blame Henderson, because he realized that the Speaker's tyranny stemmed from necessity rather than desire. In other words, David B. Henderson, as Speaker, was a "Czar" in the Reed sense. The difference was that under Henderson this was circumstantial rather than deliberate, and it was not a situation that he enjoyed.

The story of Colonel Henderson's life in the years following his retirement can be briefly told. For a while it was rumored that he would be offered a diplomatic post or a lucrative position with the Panamanian Canal Commission, but neither materialized, and his health would not have permitted him to accept had one been available. Instead, he entered a law firm in New York, but remained there only a short time. In 1904 he returned to Dubuque.<sup>90</sup>

Henderson's health had declined rapidly after his retirement. He suffered from paresis, a form of insanity marked by progressive degeneration of the brain resulting in paralysis and mental impairment. The rapidity with which he sank caused speculation that he had understood the extent of his illness earlier and had retired, realizing the possible consequences if he continued in office. By September, 1905, his condition was very bad. Richard P. Clarkson wrote to Joseph G. Cannon, the new Speaker, describing Henderson's condition: "Poor Col Henderson has gone down in darkness and gloom — never to rise again. He is an utter imbecile in all respects — cannot even sign his pension checks." He lasted five months longer, his strength steadily failing until he quietly passed away on February 25, 1906.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> New York *Times*, Dec. 3, 1899.

<sup>90</sup> Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1903; "David B. Henderson Answers 'Here' to Last Call," Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Feb. 26, 1906.

<sup>91</sup> Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Feb. 26, 1906; Clarkson to Cannon, Sept. 11, 1905, Box 1, *Joseph G. Cannon Papers* (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield). This letter was loaned to me by Dr. Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls.

Henderson was buried in Linwood Cemetery after services at St. John's Episcopal Church, with the G. A. R. in charge. George D. Perkins, a longtime friend, newspaperman, and himself a Representative, gave the eulogy, granting the old Colonel as great a praise as could be asked:

He won the admiration of his political opponents, for they learned that they could take him at his word. He fought in the open and not by intrigue. His word was an all sufficient bond. He was scrupulously careful of his political promises; he would not run from them to cover. This was the secret of his great power in the House of Representatives.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Comment by George D. Perkins in Henderson's eulogy, as quoted in Edgar R. Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa* (5 vols., Chicago, 1931), 2:221.

## DOCUMENT

### A HISTORY OF COMPANY D, ELEVENTH IOWA INFANTRY, 1861-1865

*Edited by Mildred Throne\**

In the manuscript collection of the State Historical Society of Iowa are two thin cardboard-backed notebooks containing a handwritten account of the Civil War history of one company of Iowans — Company D of the Eleventh Iowa Infantry — written by William S. Fultz of Muscatine, a sergeant of the company. At a reunion of the regiment in 1885 it was resolved that each company appoint one of its members to compile a history, which was to be deposited “in the Rooms of the State Historical Society at Iowa City.” Whether the other company historians completed their histories is not known, but Sergeant Fultz of Company D fulfilled the resolution to the letter. Thus, this account is not an on-the-spot diary of the war, but a later recounting of the memorable events. Although the history was written twenty years after the event, it is based on Fultz’s diary, which he kept in the field, and it checks as to dates and facts with other accounts of this regiment.

Several of the Iowa regiments published rather extensive histories in the decades following the Civil War, but the only other extended account of the Eleventh Iowa is the diary of Sergeant Alexander G. Downing of Company E, which was published in 1916.<sup>1</sup>

William Stroup Fultz was a native of Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1836 of German parents, William and Sophia (Stroup) Fultz. In the spring of 1850, when William was fourteen years of age, his family moved to Muscatine County, Iowa, where his father built a sawmill on Sugar Creek north of Moscow. On September 19, 1861, Fultz enlisted in the army as fourth corporal of Company D, Eleventh Iowa; he was promoted to third sergeant on May 9, 1862, and to second sergeant on September 1, 1863. He was mustered out of the service, with the rest of the regiment, on July 15, 1865, at Louisville, Kentucky. Returning to Muscatine County,

\*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> Olynthus B. Clark (ed), *Downing's Civil War Diary* . . . (Des Moines, 1916).



Fultz went into farming and became one of the best-known horticulturists in his region. He was active in politics and in the G. A. R., being a member of the Shelby Norman Post, No. 231. He died on September 19, 1915, at the age of seventy-nine.<sup>2</sup>

The history of his company, which Fultz wrote out so laboriously in longhand, is quite devoid of paragraphs or punctuation. To make it more readable, paragraphs, periods, and commas, where necessary for clarity, have been used, but otherwise the history is just as it was written. Fultz's spelling was better than the average for his day, but a few words are consistently misspelled, and these have been printed as he wrote them. Only the highlights of the history are included here, since there are long pages dealing with the details of marches and camps, which make dreary reading. Included are the accounts of the battles of Shiloh and Corinth, some of the details of the long siege of Vicksburg and the battles around Atlanta, and much of the story of the march to the sea with Sherman in 1864.

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## HISTORY OF COMPANY D ELEVEN IOWA INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS

On the evening of September 14th 1861 there was a war meeting held in the schoolroom in the town of Wilton. This meeting was addressed by Henry O'Connor Esq. and the Hon. Jacob Butler of Muscatine.<sup>3</sup> At the close of this meeting a blank muster roll was produced and the first name inscribed thereon was that of Bennett F. Jackson, better known among the boys as hellroaring Jackson.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Jackson held a recruiting Sergeants commission from the state of Iowa and announced himself ready to receive recruits. James M. Kean was the first to respond and was followed by Thos. J. Cory, Wyatt B. Pomeroy [Buckner Wyatt Pomeroy], William Leverich, A. J. Shrope, Chas. Laporte [Laport], Perry Sterrett, A. C. Bliz-

<sup>2</sup> *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 2:370-76; *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:321 (hereafter listed as *Roster and Record*); *Journal of the Proceedings, 42nd Annual Encampment, G. A. R.* . . . 1916 (Des Moines, n. d.), 99.

<sup>3</sup> Henry O'Connor, prominent lawyer of Muscatine, and one of the leading Republicans in Iowa. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:203-204. Jacob Butler, also lawyer of Muscatine, an abolitionist, and an active politician. Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1916), 390-92.

<sup>4</sup> Bennett F. Jackson, of Wilton, native of Ohio, had served as a private in Com-

zard, F. J. Bailey, Hiram G. Ayers, and John A. Hughes.<sup>5</sup> Those twelve men formed the nucleus around which gathered the men who formed what was afterward known as Company D of the Eleventh regiment of Iowa Inf. Vols.

By the 21st of September or just one week later our company had its full quota of men and was ordered to rendezvous at the old Wilson House, since burned down. On the same day an election was held for commissioned officers and the following were elected. For Capt. A. J. Shrope, 1st Leut B. F. Jackson, 2nd Leut A. H. Walker. The company remained at the Wilson House drilling daily and recruiting its ranks untill the morning of Sept. 30th when an election was held for noncommissioned officers and the following were elected. Sergeants, Reuben Fobes, Jas. M. Kean, Beecher Chatfield and James M. Leverich. Corporals, John A. Hughes, James Kelley, Samuel Edwards and Augustus Port.

On the same afternoon the Ladies of Wilton presented the company with a beautiful flag. . . . Several of the Patriotic Ladies of Wilton whom I regret exceedingly I am not able to name individually had purchased material and made for us an elegant flag. As we were ordered to rendezvous at Camp McClellan<sup>6</sup> Davenport on the first of October, Monday September 30th was set apart for the formal presentation, and Mrs. Pauline White then a resident of Wilton and a Lady of many accomplishments was selected to perform that duty. At the appointed hour the ceremony took place at the foot of the steps of the old Methodist church. That scene was an impressive one and I doubt not is still vivid in the memory of those who were present. The Company drawn up in line in front of the House of God allmost in front of the Altar one might say. In the front of them on the upper step a Lady typical of the Goddess of Liberty bearing aloft the

pany A, First Iowa, the 90-day regiment, and was commissioned 1st lieutenant of Company D, 11th Iowa, Oct. 3, 1861. He was dismissed from the service by court-martial on April 2, 1863. According to Fultz, Jackson was court-martialled for "burning lights after taps," this minor infraction being reported by another lieutenant who disliked him. *Roster and Record*, 1:43, 2:339; *Report of . . . Adjutant General . . . 1866-1867* (2 vols., Des Moines, 1867), 1:101.

<sup>5</sup> The names of all members of the regiment can be found in *Roster and Record*, 2:287-404 *passim*. Correct spelling of the names, where misspelled, is indicated in brackets.

<sup>6</sup> Camp McClellan, named for Gen. George B. McClellan, was established at Davenport on Aug. 8, 1861. Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), 1:670.

starry emblem of the free which was to be our charge during the coming years of strife. Thoughts of the approaching separations from loved ones of the past and of the unknown future [that] had in store for us we knew not what all combined to make it an occasion not soon to be forgotten. The flag was received by Sergeant Chatfield and a fitting response was made by Comrade Wyatt B. Pomeroy. The same flag faded tattered and torn was finally bequeathed to Henry Seibert Post G. A. R. and now finds a resting place on the Altar in its post room. After the ceremonies above stated the Company carrying their beautiful flag was marched down to the business part of town and as they passed the depository of the Muscatine County bible society then at the store of Frank Bacon Esq. that gentleman presented each member of the Company a neat Testament a gift appropriate and appreciated by all. Our Company had at this time an aggregate of 92 men rank and file. They were all young men very few of them were leaving families behind almost all of them being unmarried. On the evening of September 30th we were ordered to be on hand at Six O'clock the next evening to take our departure to camp McClellan.

This last night passed in Wilton will be a night long remembered by the boys of Company D and no doubt that landlord Passmore often finds it recurring to his memory. After retiring at rather a late hour the boys concluded that as it was their last night at home and as they now expected to pass under the strict rule of Military discipline they would enjoy themselves. The night was put in with discordant singing and yelling and laughing intermingled with the imitations of barking dogs, squalling cats, squealing pigs, gobbling turkeys, crowing roosters, and the occasional braying of a government mule and at the same time a bloodless battle was kept up using mattresses and pillows as weapons. The morning revealed the floor shoe deep with straw, feathers and other debris relics of the noisy encounter. The landlord was inclined to be huffy but when his patriotism was appealed to he quietly cooled down.

There was an incident of those early days of our Soldier lives that should never be forgotten. I refer to the solicitude of friends for our future comfort. The stores of Wilton were besieged for material to make underclothing, and our Mothers, Wives, Sisters and Sweethearts were all busy getting us ready for the war and for the first time in our lives we knew how handy it was to have a pocket in a shirt. As the hour of our departure drew near the Wilton band repaired to the depot and played several in-

spiring tunes. The depot and platform was crowded with relatives and friends come to see us off. And as the train which was to bear us from our homes rolled in, leave taking was the order on evry hand. We were soon hustled into the cars and with a shrill whistle from the engine we were off to the war.

We reached Davenport after dark and each man received a blanket from the state issued by Adjutant General Baker<sup>7</sup> after which we were escorted to Camp by Rev. Whittlesey<sup>8</sup> who afterward became our regimental chaplain. The Collumbus City company afterwards Company C of the 11th Regt. went to Davenport on the same train with us. The night was dark and rainy and the solitary lantern of our guide lit by a tallow candle gave but a dim light along the muddy road. On arriving at Camp McClellen we were marched to the quarters of the Washington company afterwards Company F of the Eleventh where we partook of our first Soldier supper and were initiated into one of the most important things of a Soldiers life, namely how to eat Soldiers rations. After supper we were marched to the quarters assigned us and there passed our first night in camp. The Wilton band which had accompanied us from Wilton remained over night with us in quarters and returned to their homes the next morning.

That morning we made our first details for guard duty consisting of Corporal John A. Hughes and privates H. G. Ayers, Newton Ayers and John Beam. Those three brave privates of Company D paced their beats two hours on and four hours off armed with a two edged sword manufactured out of a pine lath with which they kept all Soldiers in Camp. Citizens could pass in and out at pleasure and none of the Soldiers had uniforms but were all dressed in citizens clothes. And if our guards wanted to know whether we were soldiers or not they had to ask us and if we said Citizen then we could pass at leasure but if we said Soldier then that fearful looking sword was brought into use to drive us from the guard line.

On the 3d day of October we were mustered into U. S. Service four of our boys being rejected on account of disabilaty. This left us with 88 men. Before being mustered the roster of noncommissioned Officers was filled by

<sup>7</sup> Nathaniel B. Baker, a native of New Hampshire, once Governor of that state, but long a resident of Iowa, was appointed Adjutant General by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood upon the outbreak of the war. Baker held the position until his death on Sept. 13, 1876. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:11-12.

<sup>8</sup> John S. Whittlesey, appointed chaplain of 11th Iowa on Oct. 10, 1861, died of diphtheria May 11, 1862, at Durant, Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 2:285.



appointment as follows. Sergeants Henry Seibert, Corporals W. S. Fultz, James Wymer, Walter G. Rodgers [Rogers], and Tyler Shifflett [Winston T. Shifflet]. The last named retained his chevrons untill mustered out nearly four years later. David B. Spillman and Jacob J. Long [Jacob H. Long] were appointed Musicians and Harvey Walker as Wagoner. . . .

On the 26th of October we received our first uniforms and on the 27th our knapsacks haversacks and canteens and on the 29th our guns and accoutrements. The guns were of the old fashioned Harpers ferry musket pattern flint locks changed to percussion locks. That same day the people from along Sugar Creek came up to camp with wagon loads of good things and gave us a regular basket picnic in our quarters it being wet and rainy out of doors. . . .

On the first day of November we received our state pay counting from the time that we enlisted untill October 3rd when we were mustered into U. S. Service. On the 3d of November a change was made in our commissary department the state having been up to that time furnishing the camp with rations. And Captain Alex Chambers U. S. Mustering Officer having general oversight of affairs for the general government concluded that the government could save money by furnishing the rations themselves. In making this change Capt. Chambers found that he had tackled a bigger Elephant than he at first supposed and the consequence was that we were short of rations for a couple of days. On the evening of the 3d supper failed to materialize but the boys did not make any demonstration thinking that supper would come in due time. But after dark it began to be whispered around that there would be no rations for 24 hours. Then mutterings began to be heard and the men gathered in groups to discuss the situation. Finally those groups began to merge into crowds and the crowds soon became a riot whose objective points were the commissary and the sutler shanties. Collonel Hare [Abraham M. Hare] ordered a Captain Compton [Charles E. Compton] with Company I to restore order. The company marched by the flank through the streets with fixed bayonets driving the rioters to their quarters. In a couple of days our Commissary became supplied and got down to business and things moved evenly along. . . .

[On November 16, 1861, the 11th Iowa left Davenport by boat for St. Louis. The regiment remained at Benton Barracks, St.



Louis, until March 11, 1862, the monotony of camp life interspersed with various expeditions in Missouri in search of Confederates. On March 11 the regiment left for Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, where Grant was gathering his forces for an attack on Corinth. Before he could launch that attack, however, he was surprised by the Confederate forces under General Albert Sidney Johnston on April 6-7, at the great battle of Shiloh.]

We left St. Louis at 8 O'clock the morning of the 11th of March going down the river. No arrangements were made by which cooking could be done by the Soldiers. Some of us managed to make a little coffee at the furnace. This with crackers and a little sowbelly was our only grub while on board the boat. We reached Cairo on the 12th at 2 O'clock in the afternoon. Here we for the first time saw the Mississippi Flotilla under command of Commodore [Andrew H.] Foote. The small despatch boats seemed a wonder to us all on account of their speed as they passed back and forth. We left Cairo at 5 O'clock in the evening going up the Ohio river which was very high almost overflowing the levees along the shore. We arrived at Paducah at midnight and lay there until 8 O'clock the next morning when we started up the Tennessee river. We passed Fort Henry at half past five O'clock that evening and 2 hours later we stopped at Camp Comfort where the main part of General Grant's Army was laying. The same night we again started up the river reaching Savanna [Savannah, Tenn.] at dark on the 14th.

We remained on board the boat until the morning of the 19th when we landed and camped. We found plenty of good clear water but the water in one spring was very warm and many a soldier was fooled by taking a drink out of the new tin cup placed there for his accommodation. The writer was there and knows from experience just how warm that water was. On the 22nd of March we turned over our tools such as axes picks and spades to the Quarter Master and on the morning of the 23d we broke up camp and embarked on board the steamboat Westmoreland and at half past 2 O'clock we started up the river reaching Pittsburg landing one hour later where we landed and camped on the bluff near the river. The following day we struck tents and moved out about two miles and a half from the river where we fixed up camp having a nice location with wood and water plenty. This camp was designated as camp No. 1 Pittsburg Landing. It was here that we first made the acquaintance of those friends of the soldiers that sticketh

closer than a brother and that would persist in trying to take possession of their pants to the owners great annoyance and disgust. Without a doubt the Greybacks were brought from the steamboats but were not discovered until we were in camp.

We remained here drilling Battalion drill in the forenoon and Company drill in the afternoon nothing occurring to break the monotony of camp life until April 1st when the Captain had a rumpus with some of the boys and had Henry Rice bucked and gaged,<sup>9</sup> and the next day had C. O. Chapman out drilling alone. I was the corporal detailed to drill him and was ordered to drill him two hours. I marched him across the parade ground into the timber and drilled him two long hours at laying in the shade. I had not been guilty of any dereliction of duty but the Captain did not have the gumption enough to know that had I drilled Chapman according to orders I would have been worse punished than Chapman. That afternoon the Colonel called 10 men of the company to his tent to have a talk with them about the captain and his trouble with the company. After talking a while with the men he said that he was sorry for the company but as we had elected our own Captain and he had been commissioned by the Governor of the State of Iowa there was no help, they would have to put up with him.

On the 3d of April we had Division review and on the 4th a severe storm of hail and rain making it too unpleasant to remain out of the tents. At dark the long roll beat and hastily seizing our muskets and accoutrements we were soon in line of battle. We remained in ranks 4 hours and then returned to our tents putting our guns where we could get them at a moments notice. Leut. Col. Hall [William Hall] was in command of the regiment, Col. Hare being in command of the Brigade. On the 5th we had battalion drill. . . .

The battle of Shiloh<sup>10</sup> was fought on the 6th and 7th of April 1862.

<sup>9</sup> To "buck and gag" meant to punish a person by tying the wrists together, passing the arms over the bent knees, and inserting a stick over the arms and beneath the knees. Mitford M. Mathews (ed.), *A Dictionary of Americanisms* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1951), 1:201.

<sup>10</sup> The literature on the famous battle of Shiloh is voluminous. For a graphic description by a participant, see Mildred Throne (ed.), *The Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, 1861-1863* (Iowa City, 1953), 27-39. (This diary was originally published serially in the four quarterly issues of Vol. 50 of the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 1952). For a list of articles and books on Shiloh, see *ibid.*, note 21, p. 27. For the 11th Iowa's part in the battle, see Clark (ed.), *Down-*

The brigade to which the 11th Iowa was attached was composed of the 8th and 18th Ills. and the 11th and 13th Iowa<sup>11</sup> and was commanded by General Ogalsby [R. J. Oglesby of the 8th Illinois] until within 2 or 3 days before the battle when he was succeeded by Colonel Hare of the 11th Iowa under whose command the brigade fought during the 1st days battle, the regt being in command of Lt. Col. Hall. The brigade was known as the 1st brigade of McClernands [Brig. Gen. John A. McClernand] division and was in reserve. Early on the morning of Sunday the 6th of April and while many of the men were yet eating breakfast the long roll beat and a few minutes later the rebel canon shot was tearing through our camp and as the long roll was taken up by one regiment after another we formed on our color line and after standing there about half an hour we were marched across the open field in front of our camp where we were closed enmasse and stood for nearly an hour being the reserve regt of the 1st Brigade, during which time the canons roar and the rattle of musketry was incessant and drew nearer until we could hear the whistling of the rebel shells as they flew past. We were then formed in line of battle and were double quicked for about 300 yards to the front where we lay down to await the enemy. The 13th Iowa was formed on our left and we had not been in position but a few minutes when an Ills. regt came marching back from the front in good order and Colonel Hall asked the colonel of the Ills. regiment to halt and form on our right which was without any support but the colonel would not even halt his regiment but kept on to the rear.<sup>12</sup>

During this time many stragglers were running back through our lines and several wounded men also passed to the rear and while the stragglers

*ing's Civil War Diary*, 39-42; Mildred Throne (ed.), "Letters from Shiloh," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:249-58 (July, 1954).

<sup>11</sup> The 11th Iowa was now part of the First Brigade (commanded by Col. Abraham M. Hare), First Division (Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand) of the Army of the Tennessee (Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant). *Roster and Record*, 2:276; *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 100 (hereafter listed as *Official Records*). The other regiments in the brigade were the 8th and 18th Illinois, the 13th Iowa, and the 2nd Ill. Light Artillery, Battery D, known as Dresser's Battery.

<sup>12</sup> Many of the Union troops at Shiloh had never seen action before, and thousands of men and officers fled for the safety of the landing. Other troops, just as inexperienced, stood their ground and fought stubbornly. Grant says on this point: "Three of the five divisions engaged on Sunday were entirely raw, and many of the men had only received their arms on the way from their States to the field. Many of them had arrived but a day or two before and were hardly able to load their

and wounded men were passing a column of troops came marching up the road toward our line of battle and our Officers cautioned us not to fire as they were our own men but from where the left of company D was laying in the open road we had a fair view of their flag which we knew to be a rebel flag as it had 3 wide stripes and eleven stars. Before deploying in line of battle they came so near that we could hear their commander give the order, On your right by file into line, and it was as well and as regularly done as if they had been on drill untill their colors were uncovered and our Officers had a fair view of their flag and gave us the order to fire. The smoke of our muskets hid the enemy from view but by the way that their balls flew around us we knew that they had got into position and that we were fighting an enemy that were not to be despised.

While we were hotly engaged a section of Dressers battery came up and unlimbered close in our rear and opened out on the enemy. The wooden blocks that were placed behind the shells in loading the guns allways flew among our ranks wounding the men and we were ordered to fall back so as to be in a line with the battery and in doing so I exchanged places with Peter Craven who was soon after killed by a musket ball entering his brain from the top of his head. I saw him when he was struck and he lay flat on his face and quivered a few seconds and was dead, he never having known what killed him. About this time Collonel Halls horse was shot from under him and he remained on foot during the time that we held that position and he displayed great gallantry continually encourageing the boys untill we were outflanked. We twice repulsed the rebels but the 3d time that they came up they outflanked us on our right and drove us from the field.

Our companies loss in the two hours and fifteen minutes that we held that position was 5 killed and 17 wounded and this does not include the slightly wounded some of whom rejoined the company during the afternoon. Companies F, D and I held a position across the Corinth road and

muskets according to the manual. Their officers were equally ignorant of their duties. Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that many of the regiments broke at the first fire. In two cases, as I now remember, colonels led their regiments from the field on first hearing the whistle of the enemy's bullets. In these cases the colonels were constitutional cowards, unfit for any military position; but not so the officers and men led out of danger by them. Better troops never went upon a battle-field than many of these, officers and men, afterwards proved themselves to be, who fled panic-stricken at the first whistle of bullets and shell at Shiloh." *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:342-3 (hereafter listed as *Grant, Memoirs*).



had no protection. The balance of the regiment were somewhat protected by the timber in their front and in falling back those 3 companies became scattered but many of them rallied and rejoined the regiment during the afternoon. There were 17 men of Company D who were rallied and rejoined the regiment.

After falling back to near the landing details were made from the regiment to assist in manning the artillery which had been formed in line running back from the river. Several large trees were cut down so as to form a line of breast works and the gaps between the trees were filled up with sacks of corn and oats and bales of hay that had been piled up some distance back from the landing. While this last line of battle was forming the 11th Iowa and 55th Ills. were sent to the front to feel for the enemy. Those 2 regiments passed out to the top of the deep ravine that run back from the river and remained in line of battle and while in this position drove back a line of rebel cavalry that were trying to make an advance at that place. This cavalry was the last rebel line that showed themselves on the first days battle and they were no doubt only making a reconnaissance to find our position.

After the repulse of this rebel cavalry we were marched some distance to the right and took our place in line of battle that had been formed not far from the Corinth road where we remained untill near dark when we were releaved by the troops of Buels Army<sup>13</sup> and then fell back to the breast works near the landing and finding our place in the line occupied we stacked arms near the old log house and remained there during the night the rain pouring down in torrents. During the evening the rebel shells kept whistling over our heads and burst in our rear doing no harm.

During our heaviest fighting in the morning Hi Ayers got a ball fast in his gun and went to a stump to ram it down by prodding the rammer against the stump and got the rammer fast. Just then the order was given to fall back so as to get in line with the battery and Hi left his rammer sticking in the stump and Sam Edwards seeing him leave it went and drew it out and amid the whistling of bullets brought it back and cooly said, Hi Ayers here is your rammer. There were plenty of rammers laying around where they had been dropped by the men who had been killed and wounded

<sup>13</sup> The arrival of Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell and his Army of the Ohio, late in the afternoon of April 6, helped to turn the tide of battle, so that Grant's forces were able to repulse the Confederates on April 7.



and that action of Edwards in getting Ayers his rammer was the coolest thing that I ever saw in time of battle.

We had nothing to eat during the day and were unable to find anything when night came but before daylight I had found the Quarter Master and the regimental teams and got sufficient hard tack and sow belly to do the company one day and it was issued to them at daylight. Some of our boys who had not been able to find the company during the afternoon rejoined us during the night.

On the morning of the 7th we fell in and marched out to the line of battle which had engaged the rebels at daylight and was driving them back over the same ground that they had driven us the day before. We were placed in support of a large howitzer which kept throwing its large shells into the rebel line of battle untill noon when we were moved some distance to the right and ordered to support the line of battle which we did untill the rebels were driven from the field, when we returned to our camp where we found nothing but our tents evrything else having been taken.

That evening we went to the place where we had first encountered the rebels on Sunday morning and buried our dead.<sup>14</sup> William White had been buried the night before near the landing and we buried Thos. Cory and Henry Seibert in one grave and Peter Craven and William Leverich in another. We wrapped their blankets around them and lowered them into their graves in bottom of which rude vaults had been made which were covered with boards and then the graves were filled with earth and head boards with their name, company and regt cut thereon was placed at the head of each. The head boards placed at the grave of Leverich and Craven remained there untill they were taken up and removed to the cemetery several years after and of all of our companies dead who are buried at Shiloh their graves alone are known. Roderick R. McRaw [McRea] who was buried at Savannah Tenn was removed to the cemetery at Shiloh but by some means his identity was lost and his grave is not known. It has been stated that when Peter Craven was killed he was laying on his face but when we came to him on the following day he was laying on his back as were all the dead on the battle field. The boys in blue were fair featured and white while those in grey were dark featured and in some cases nearly

<sup>14</sup> The 11th Iowa went into the battle of Shiloh with 750 officers and men; 194 were lost in the two-day battle: 33 killed, 160 wounded, and 1 missing. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 100, 130.

black. It was said that the rebel Officers had issued whiskey mixed with gunpowder to their men which caused their dead to turn black.

Were we surprised at Shiloh is a question that is now often disputed but shortly after the battle there was no dispute about it in the Army of the Tennessee. That we were surprised was an acknowledged fact by the whole army. There was no picket line to the west of our camp and south of Owl creek swamp near old Lowells house.<sup>15</sup> The boys passed out and in with impunity for several days before the battle but after the battle we established a picket line at that place.

One of the gravest oversights and one that we were never afterwards guilty of was in not fortifying our camp at Pittsburg Landing. General Grant excuses himself by saying that as many of the troops were raw volunteers he considered that the time required to build breast works would be better occupied in drilling and discipling the men. This explanation no doubt is satisfactory to the general public but to the men camped at Pittsburg landing a few days before the battle it seems a lame excuse. The fact is that McClernands division took the 1st and 2nd of April to prepare for review the 3d. Other divisions of the army also held review shortly before the battle. If the time taken for this useless review had been taken to build breast works it would have been sufficient to have built all the breast works needed and to have cut down all the timber for 200 yards in front of the works and thus formed an obstruction through which the rebels could never have charged.<sup>16</sup> Another mistake was in occupying too much ground with

<sup>15</sup> From this it should not be inferred that the Army of the Tennessee had no pickets out before the battle. The 1st Division (of which the 11th Iowa was a part), was located well back from the spot where the Confederate attack came. Brig. Gen. W. T. Sherman, in command of the 5th Division, and Brig. Gen. B. M. Prentiss, in command of the 6th, were located a mile or so west of the 1st Division, and their pickets had had brushes with the advance of the Confederates for several days before the battle. *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:257-8 (hereafter listed as *Sherman, Memoirs*). "The camps of Sherman and Prentiss formed the front line about 2½ miles from Pittsburg Landing and extended in a semicircle from Owl Creek on the right to Lick Creek on the left. One company from each regiment was advanced as a picket 1 mile in front of regimental camps." Major D. W. Reed, *The Battle of Shiloh* . . . (Washington, 1903), 11.

<sup>16</sup> Here Fultz is writing from the memories of four years' experience in fortifying. Breastworks and fortifications had been little used up to the time of the battle of Shiloh. Grant's explanation is as follows: "The criticism has often been made that the Union troops should have been intrenched at Shiloh. Up to that time the pick and spade had been but little resorted to at the West. I had, however, taken this subject under consideration soon after re-assuming command in the field, and . . .

our camps thus lengthening our line so that gaps were formed through which the rebels passed and thus outflanked the single brigades and divisions. Had there been no gap on the right of our brigade the rebels would have suffered more terrible than they did before they would have dislodged us from our position. As it was the timber in our front was thickly strewn with rebel dead and General Grant was no doubt correct when he claimed that there were more rebel dead buried by McClellands and Sherman's divisions than the rebel General reported for the whole field of battle.<sup>17</sup>

To give a description of the sensation experienced when first going into battle is almost an impossibility. The quick nervous sensation causing every muscle to quiver and the whole being to shake not with fear for the bravest of the brave were so affected with this sensation that their guns in their hands refused to lay still and despite all that a man could do his musket would shake in his grasp. This peculiar sensation wore off as the battle progressed and at each battle in which we were afterwards engaged this sensation was less and less felt until toward the latter part of the war it was no longer felt, the boys going into a fight with the same coolness that they now go to their daily work. I remember getting up very early on the morning of the 8th of April 1862 and going to the wood pile and picked up the ax and commenced to chop wood. It was a still morning and the

my only military engineer reported unfavorably. Besides this, the troops with me, officers and men, needed discipline and drill more than they did experience with the pick, shovel and axe. Reinforcements were arriving almost daily, composed of troops that had been hastily thrown together into companies and regiments — fragments of incomplete organizations, the men and officers strangers to each other. Under all these circumstances I concluded that drill and discipline were worth more to our men than fortifications." Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:357-8. According to Sherman, "We had no intrenchments of any sort, on the theory that as soon as Buell arrived we would march to Corinth and attack the enemy." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:275.

<sup>17</sup> The casualties at Shiloh were tremendous. On the morning of April 6, Grant had some 33,000 at Pittsburg Landing. At night Lew Wallace arrived with 5,000 more, and Buell's Army of the Ohio, which also reached the battlefield that night, consisted of 20,000. During the first day's battle, according to Grant, he never had more than 25,000 men in line, since thousands of the green troops fled without firing a shot. The Confederate forces under Albert Sidney Johnston (who was killed in the afternoon of the 6th and was replaced by P. G. T. Beauregard) totalled about 40,000 on April 6. Union killed, wounded, and missing at the end of the two-day battle totalled 13,047 (1,754 killed, 8,408 wounded, and 2,885 missing); the Confederate losses were reported as 10,697 (1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, 957 missing). Grant doubted the Confederate figures. "We buried, by actual count, more of the enemy's dead in front of the divisions of McClelland and Sherman alone than here reported, and 4,000 was the estimate of the burial parties for the whole field." Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:366-7; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 108, 391.

first stroke of the ax resounding through the woods reminded me of the first sound of the musketry on the morning of the 6th and the same quivering sensation passed through me. Nor was I alone for many of the boys stuck their heads out of the tents to see what was the matter and I got a good many curses for thus scaring them out of their sleep. Of course I laid the ax down but scarce five minutes after an ax was ringing at the right of the Second brigade which was camped near where we first met the enemy on Sunday morning. This brought many of the boys out of their tents some of them imagining that we were attacked. This however soon wore off so that a hundred axes might have been at work without being noticed. . . .

On the morning of the 8th there was some firing at the front and soon the long roll was beating in every direction. We formed line of battle and marched out to the place where we had met the rebels on Sunday morning where we waited about two hours and then returned to camp it being a false alarm. When the long roll first beat some of our Officers and men were panic struck and started for the woods in the direction of the river. Most of them however came back to their places in ranks. That day large details were made to bury the dead which lay thick over the battle field. We remained on the battle field drilling and doing other duties untill the 25th when we moved out to camp No. 2 and there brigaded with the 13th, 15th and 16th Iowa Vols,<sup>18</sup> and the four regiments remained in the same Brigade untill the end of the war. While we remained camped on the battle field almost every man of the company and regiment was sick with what the boys called the Tennessee quick step (Diarrhaea). . . .

It was while laying at this camp that we drew our first dessicated potatoes which in appearance much resembled coarse corn meal. And being very dry they usually swelled to about two or three times their bulk when water was added to them. The boys never having seen any of the article before and not having been told any better supposed that it was corn meal and made preparations to use it accordingly. Sam Steffy considered himself the boss cook of the company and was going to show the boys how to

<sup>18</sup> The famous "Crocker's Brigade," commanded by Brig. Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker of Des Moines, was composed of the 11th, 13th, 15th, and 16th Iowa. It was the Third Brigade, Sixth Division, Army of the Tennessee. See A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 255-64, for Crocker's role in the war.



make corn cakes. Getting together all the corn meal (dessicated potatoes) that he could by exchanging other rations for it he got down to business. Having no griddle on which to bake his cakes he sent some of his mess-mates down to the little creek to get a few flat stones on which to bake his cakes. The stones having been properly prepared the next thing was to prepare the batter. This work Steffy reserved to himself taking a kettle and partly filling it with water and having whettled out a nice wooden paddle with which to stir it he commenced stirring in his meal adding a little salt and a little saleratus bought at the suttlers and having his stone griddles properly heated he now proceeded to bake his cakes. Having spread his batter evenly over the stones about one fourth of an inch thick he sat down knife in hand to watch them bake. But great Caesar boys, said Steffy, who ever saw such corn cakes as them. Just see them comeing up. I guess thats the saleratus that I put in them. Je willikens dont they raise, why boys dont they raise, why they are nearly an inch thick now. Let us see how they will turn. Accordingly running his knife under he tried to turn one of them but the thing only fell to peices and crumbled into the fire and burned up. The water having dried out there remained only the dry potatoes with no cohesive quality and they burned up as soon as they touched the fire. It is needless to say that . . . Steffy made a failure of baking corn cakes.

After seeing this failure the boys were all anxious to exchange their corn meal for some other rations and Sergeant Leverich beleaving that Steffys failure was all owing to his having tried to bake his cakes on stones gave it as his opinion that the proper way was to boil it and make mush and he was ready to trade for all he could get. By this time the boys had nearly all of them been trying their hands at the stuff and had failed and were so anxious to get rid of it that Leverich soon had a good supply. Securing a good sized camp kettle and filling it about half full of water he hung it on the fire and as soon as the water commenced boiling he added a little salt and commenced stirring in his meal untill he got it of the required thickness to suit him. The members of the company were all gathered around watching the operation and the Sergeant concluded that it was a good time to learn the boys something about cooking. Now, said he, when you go to make mush you must be careful and not get it too thick as it must cook a good while and if it is made too thick at first it will be sure to burn. By all thats good boys look at that mush just see how it is comeing up. It is



going to boil over. Take away some of the fire. Get me another kettle so I can dip some of it off. Be quick. Some of the boys drew back the fire while others brought another kettle and Leverich kept dipping out his mush which seemed to be very dry. So much so that he concluded that more water was needed and more water was added, he all the time explaining to the boys the modes operandi of making mush. But the more water that was added the more the mush would swell and instead of one kettle full of mush there were two kettles full and the kettles too small to hold it. The final result was two kettles full of burnt dessicated potatoes and the most sanguine hopes turned to disappointment. But the boys soon learned what dessicated potatoes were and how to prepare them and they proved to be the best ration ever issued to any Army.<sup>19</sup> . . .

[The 11th Iowa now took part in the siege of Corinth, until the Confederate forces evacuated that city on May 30, 1862. During the following months, the regiment also took part in various expeditions around Corinth, remaining in that vicinity until the battle of Corinth on October 3-4, 1862, when the Confederate forces tried to retake the city. Only a few of the events recorded for this period are included here.]

On the 28th of July 1862 the Iowa brigade left Corinth, Miss. and took up the line of march for Bollivar [Bolivar] Tenn. and there is not a soldier of the brigade who made that memorable march under that hot July sun but that will forever remember the incidents of that weary march. We had received very strict orders against forageing yet during the second night out company D managed to get a young beef and had it killed and cooked before daylight and distributed to the company by the time the boys were ready for breakfast. If company D had one man more skilled in forageing than any other that man was W. H. Russell and it was to Russells skill on this occasion that the boys were indebted for their beef and although evry

<sup>19</sup> The army recipe for preparing the dried or desiccated potatoes is as follows: "Mix the potatoe *thoroughly* with hot water, taking care that every particle of the potatoe is well moistened; mash well with a pounder, after being *well* stirred, turn off *all* the water that remains, and let the potatoe stand in a warm place for twenty minutes; half an hour would be better; mix a little butter if convenient, season to taste, and place it in the dish in which it is intended to be baked. If not intended for baking, mix as before; season and boil *very* slowly over a light fire, taking care that it is well stirred and does not burn." From a printed circular, evidently issued to commissaries, in the *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

non commissioned Officer and private in the company got a share of that beef there was not an Officer knew it had been killed.

On the 3d day out the brigade made a halt near a farm house to rest and General Tuttle<sup>20</sup> made the porch in front of the house his head quarters for the time being. There were several chickens around the house and stables and the boys taxed their wits to the utmost to get hold of those chickens without the knowledge of the people of the house or of any of the Officers. And they had succeeded so well that there was but one solitary old hen left scratching near the back door of the house which stood open, no soldier having been bold enough to attack her in that position for fear of the Officers who were in the house. But Marion Leverich in strolling around happened to get his eye on that old hen and not noticing the open door immediately gave pursuit. Away went the hen and away went Marion after her, the hen going through the fences and Marion over them. Around the smoke house and across the barn yard around the stables and back to the house and around the house and under the porch went the hen with Marion so close behind and so intent was he that without looking to the right or the left he too went under the porch and the chase was ended and Marion got the chicken. Crawling out and getting on his feet he found himself in front of the General who putting on a severe aspect and in tones that were meant to be convincing said to Marion, Whose chicken is that Sir. I dont know, said Marion. Did you not run after it and catch it, said the General. Yes Sir, said Marion. Then, said the General, it must be yours and you had better hurry and dress it as we will not stay here very long. Marion went off with his chicken thinking that he had made a narrow escape. In less than an hour the story was known to almost every man in the brigade and the inference drawn was that the orders against foraging were issued for political effect and not for the benefit of the inhabitants of the country. And from that time on foraging was done more frequently and more boldly.

<sup>20</sup> James M. Tuttle, originally lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Iowa, succeeded to command of his regiment on Sept. 6, 1861. At Donelson he had led the famous charge of the 2nd, which was the first regiment to enter the Fort. At Shiloh he had succeeded to the command of the Second Division, Army of the Tennessee, after the death of its commander, Brig. Gen. W. H. L. Wallace. On June 9 Tuttle was promoted to brigadier general. At this time he commanded the 6th Division, Army of the Tennessee. *Roster and Record*, 1:98; Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:269-70; Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 51-8; Clark (ed.), *Downing's Civil War Diary*, 60.

It was on this march from Corinth to Bollivar that the brigade passed through the village of Pocahontas and halted a short time in its streets. While stopping there the boys discovered a lot of cabbage growing in a lot near a house where Collonel Crocker and Staff were resting. This cabbage was the first vegetable of any kind that we had seen growing during the summer and the boys went for it in full force fully 200 of them jumping the fence at once. This brought out one of Collonel Crockers staff officers sword in hand and ordered the men to git out of there. The men only groaned and yelled cabbage and commenced throwing it over the fence. I remember catching a fine head as it came over my way. . . .

It was while camped on the bank of the Hatchie river at Bollivar that Sam Rucker went to brigade head quarters and was going to clean out Collonel Crocker and staff for keeping guards stationed at the springs near the river bank so as to prevent the boys from using the water which was kept for use at brigade head quarters. Sam told the Collonel that if river water was good enough for the privates it was good enough for the Officers and that he had no business to keep the springs guarded for the use of his head quarters. Singular as it may seem this remonstrance of a half witted private had the effect of removing the guard from the springs and during the remainder of our stay in that camp the springs were as accessable to the privates of the regiment as they were to the Officers at head quarters. . . .

[The 11th Iowa played only a minor role in the battle of Corinth, October 3-4, 1862, and following that victory the regiment took part in Grant's movements around Vicksburg until the fall of that city on July 4, 1863. Only one incident of this long siege is included here, since most of the account is routine. The following incident is amusing and also typical of the attitude of the citizen soldier toward the Civil War "brass."]

On the 21st of April 1863 the regiment then on duty at Lake Providence, La. embarked on board of the Steam boat Platte valley and the same night dropped down to Millikens Bend where we landed and camped and General Crocker made his headquarters in the only house there and placed guards over the hog pens chicken coops and other out buildings. But word having been given to the brigade that we were going to remain a few days the boys got together and made a charge on those outbuildings to get lumber for bunks. This brought out one of the Generals Staff Officers to the assistance of the guards. And it was the same Officer that tried to save the cabbage at

Pocahontas. This only made the boys more determined and they yelled cabbage and blatted like a Goat untill their lungs were sore. (The Officer having allways wore his whiskers A la Goatee.) The outbuildings were soon torn down and evry board carried to camp and were soon doing duty as bunks. General Crocker came on the scene but too late to stop the boys or to save the lumber. He lay all the blame on the 11th regiment because they were nearest to the buildings but evry regiment in the brigade was represented there.

At 2 Oclock on the 26th we broke up camp and having turned our tents over to the Quarter Master we started for Richmond, La. which place we reached the next day at ten Oclock. The rain was pouring down in torrents. I think that I never knew it to rain harder than it did that day. Shelter was found for the other regiments of the brigade but the 11th was drawn up in line in the main street of the village and there they stood for two long hours while the rain was pouring down in a fair deluge. They were then told to go into an old cotton gin and stay for the night. We were told that Mrs. Hall the wife of Collonel Hall (who was with the regt and in a house near by) cried when she saw the men of the regiment thus exposed to the rain. She no doubt knew what the boys did not know at the time and that was that General Crocker was punishing the boys for taking the lumber from the old outbuildings back at the river. . . .

On the first of May 1863 General Crocker left the brigade to take command of Quimbys division and about the same time the boys were told that they had been left standing in the rain at Richmond as a punishment for taking the lumber at Millikens bend. And General Crocker having left the brigade the boys were determined that the staff officer who had made himself so conspicuous at the time should be made to know what it was to gain the ill will of a regiment of men. So whenever he showed himself all the boys in the regiment would commence blatting like a Goat. It was a long time before the officers at head quarters knew what the blatting meant and the thing did not reach a focus untill nearly a year later. On the 3d day of Feb. 1864 the brigade with the rest of Shermans army left Vicksburg for Maredian [Meridian, Miss.] and just as the regiment reached the deep cut in the road near where Carrs hospital was located during the seige of Vicksburg a halt was ordered and the boys as was their wont on such occasions had lain down on each side of the road on their backs using their knap-



sacks for a support thus leaving the wagon track clear along which the same staff Officer came riding from the front and he was allowed to get nearly half through the regt before the boys paid any attention to him and then they all set up such a blatting as was never before heard. The Officer was gone but a few minutes when he returned and again rode through the regiment and the blatting was if possible more loud and prolonged than at first. This brought General Chambers [Brig. Gen. Alexander Chambers, originally Colonel of the 16th Iowa] the brigade commander back from the front and he wanted to know who had been making fun of his Staff Officer. No one knew nor had any one seen anybody making fun of him. After giving us a little gratuitous advice for which he got no thanks the General left no wiser than when he came. That was the last time I ever saw that Staff Officer. The boys had blatted him entirely away from head quarters.

. . .

[After the fall of Vicksburg, Grant's army remained in that area, but no engagements of importance took place. On January 25, 1864, most of the men of the 11th Iowa re-enlisted as "veterans," and in March they were sent home on furlough. On April 22, 1864, the 11th Iowa returned to service and was sent eastward to join Sherman's forces gathering for the attack on Atlanta. The regiment met the main body of the army at Ackworth, Georgia, on June 8, 1864, after a long march across from Clifton, Tennessee, through Alabama, and into Georgia. The Confederate troops, under Joseph E. Johnston, had already been defeated by Sherman at Resaca (May 13-16), and at New Hope Church (May 25-28), and were entrenched on Kennesaw, Lost, and Pine Mountains.]

Marching through Allatoona pass we reached the army lines near Ackworth at noon [June 8, 1864] and made our bivouac in the woods. On the 9th we lay by washing and fixing up and the boys all took this opportunity of writing letters to their friends. The next day we marched to Big Shanty<sup>21</sup> a distance of 8 miles, skirmishing with the rebels the last 3 miles. From Big Shanty we had a good view of Kenesaw [Kennesaw] Mountain four miles distant. On the top of the mountain the rebel flag was plainly seen as it floated to the breeze.

We were now fairly entered upon the hardest campaign ever experi-

<sup>21</sup> Big Shanty, Ga., was on the line of railroad running southeast toward Atlanta. Between Big Shanty and Marietta were Lost, Kennesaw, and Pine mountains, where the Confederates were entrenched.



anced during the war. For nearly 3 months we were to be almost continually under fire. The shrill whistle and sudden zip of the Minnie ball and the booming of canon and bursting of shells were to sound in our ears both day and night. During the day we were to become familiar with the axe spade and pick and to work under fire and much of the night was to find us using the same tools. And what sleep we got was with our guns at our side while a comrade was standing Sentry eagerly watching lest we would be surprised as we slept. It was surprising how keen our eyesight became and how quick the ear detected the least sound. With nerves strung to their utmost tension it required but a slight noise to awaken the sleeping soldiers who in an instant would be on their feet with their guns in their hands ready for any emergency.

At 9 O'clock on the morning of the 11th we marched out of Big Shanty going toward Kenesaw Mountain. After going one mile we formed in line of battle our Army Corps being the left of Sherman's army.<sup>22</sup> We advanced about half a mile in line of battle the timber being very thick so that it was very difficult to keep our line in shape. We developed the rebel works and at 3 O'clock we went to work and built breastworks it raining all the afternoon. While we were advancing our line of battle there were 5 Major Generals following in our rear among them Generals Sherman and McPherson. In our front and near the right of our regiment was a fine orchard where we got plenty of apples. On the 12th it rained all day but we had lively skirmishing all the time. It rained all night the night of the 12th and skirmishing was very brisk all the next day. The rebels threw several shells into our bivouac but did us no other harm than to make Bill Strong the Colonels cook get around in a hurry as the shells rattled among the pots and kettles.

On the morning of the 14th Company D went on the skirmish line and we advanced a short distance into an open field getting within 300 yards of the rebel picket line which was at the foot of a long declivity and was pro-

<sup>22</sup> Sherman's forces during the Atlanta campaign included the Army of the Cumberland (4th, 14th, 20th Army Corps) under command of Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, in the center; the Army of the Tennessee (15th, 16th, 17th Army Corps), under command of Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, on the left; Army of the Ohio (23rd Army Corps), under the command of Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, on the right. The 11th, 13th, 15th, and 16th Iowa, commanded by Col. William Hall, made up the Third Brigade, Fourth Division, 17th Army Corps, which was under Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair, Jr., Army of the Tennessee. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 89-115. Sherman's forces numbered about 100,000. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:51.

tected by large piles of rails placed in such a manner as to protect them from our skirmish line and from the weather. About 11 O'clock a column of rebel troops were seen marching along the foot of the Mountain and our artillery commenced shelling them and in the afternoon a rebel Signal Station on the top of the mountain was busy signaling and our signal men got out their glass and commenced reading their signals and it was learned that the rebel General Polk had been killed by a shell that forenoon. . . .<sup>23</sup>

[Skirmishing and fortifying continued day and night, until the Confederate forces evacuated Kennesaw Mountain July 3, 1864.]

At dark [June 22, 1864] companies D and C went on the skirmish line. And during the night some of our boys met some of the rebel pickets half way between the lines and had a talk with them it being a moonlight night. Our boys asked the rebels how long they expected to hold Kennesaw Mountain and the rebels answered that whenever General Sherman ordered General Johnston to move back they would *git*, General Johnston always obeying General Sherman's orders. Skirmish firing was brisk all day the 23d and that evening our boys and the rebels had a long talk together. Sergeant Kelley and Corporal Shifflett met 8 of them half way between the lines and exchanged News papers . . . the rebels gave Shifflett some tobacco. . . .

On the 26th everything was quiet and many a time the remark was made that there is always a calm before a storm. On the morning of the 27th everything about Head Quarters was packed up and loaded on the wagons and extra ammunition was issued to the army and we were ordered to the advanced works. Our skirmishers charged the rebels and were repulsed.<sup>24</sup>

. . .

<sup>23</sup> Sherman, in riding along the lines, noticed a group of Confederates on the mountain side watching the Union forces through glasses. He ordered Thomas to use his artillery against the group, and afterwards thought that it was this volley that had killed the Confederate General, Leonidas Polk. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:53.

<sup>24</sup> The Confederates, under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, had drawn in their lines, concentrating their forces on Kennesaw Mountain. Sherman had been extending his lines, hoping to get the enemy to follow suit, thus enabling the Union troops to find a weak spot and breach the Confederate defenses. "I reasoned," wrote Sherman, "if we could make a breach anywhere near the rebel centre, and thrust in a strong head of column, that with the one moiety of our army we could hold in check the corresponding wing of the enemy, and with the other sweep in flank and overwhelm the other half." June 27, 1864, was chosen as the date of this attack. McPherson's wing, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, "fought up the face of the lesser Kennesaw [*sic*], but could not reach the summit." The entire Union attack was repulsed with heavy losses. *Ibid.*, 2:60-61.

[Sherman now decided to abandon the direct assault on Kennesaw Mountain and to move his troops around the Confederates and south of Marietta to Fulton or to the Chattahoochee River, toward Atlanta.]

At 3 O'clock on the morning of the 3d [sic. 2nd] of July we were called up by the artillery which had opened up and commenced shelling the rebels. The skirmish line of both armies immediately engaged and were firing as fast as possible each fearing an attack from the other. It was yet dark and the flash from both artillery and infantry could be plainly seen. The rebel line led up the front of Kennesaw Mountain and the fire from their muskets showed the position of their line it being one long blaze of light from the foot to the top of the Mountain and was a grand sight. . . .

General Q. A. Gresham [sic. Brig. Gen. Walter Q. Gresham] commanded the Division at that time and it was 9 O'clock that evening when we fell in ready to leave,<sup>25</sup> and we waited one hour for the other two brigades and the batteries to pass, our brigade being rear guard of our division. That night the rebels evacuated Kennesaw Mountain and fell back to the Chattahoochee river. . . .

[From July 4 through 9 the forces along the Nickajack Creek, which runs into the Chattahoochee, where the Confederates were entrenched, skirmished back and forth. On the 9th, Sherman's forces having crossed the Chattahoochee above and below Johnston's position, the latter was forced to abandon his lines on the river and retreat toward Atlanta. During lulls in the fighting, men of the 11th Iowa and the men of Johnston's forces often met between the lines for the exchange of food, tobacco, and talk.]

Everything was quiet along the lines all day the 9th neither army doing any firing. After dark the rebel pickets called a great deal to our pickets who had orders not to pay any attention to them. Their calling could be heard by the line of battle back on the hill as they loudly called Ho Yanks, You Yanks, Hello Yanks dont you want to talk awhile, but our pickets

<sup>25</sup> On July 3 McPherson's Army of the Tennessee moved from the left of Sherman's forces facing Kennesaw Mountain to the right past the other armies, and then turned southeast along Nickajack Creek toward the Chattahoochee River at Turner's Ferry. This movement forced Johnston to give up Kennesaw Mountain and Marietta and to retreat to a prepared position on the Chattahoochee, protecting Atlanta. *Ibid.*, 2:65. According to Brig. Gen. Walter Q. Gresham, in command of the 4th Division of the 17th Army Corps, the movement began at 8:30 p. m. on July 2. The army reached its position on Nickajack Creek about 6 p. m. on July 3. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 579.

made no reply although this calling was kept up for fully fifteen minutes.<sup>26</sup> That night the rebels evacuated their works and the next morning we marched over and took possession changing them to suit our purpose. . . .

At 5 O'clock on the evening of the 11th Companies C and D went on picket and the post in charge of the writer went down the bluff toward the Chattahoochie river in full view of the rebel breastworks on the opposite side of the river and dug a rifle pit and threw up a small earthwork and had it finished by daylight. We lay in our little fort all that day and no rebel dared to show himself from behind their breastworks unless the boys would make a target of him. It was at this place that Reeves and Chapman went down to the river during the night and made the exchange with the rebels of coffee for tobacco.

[The following account was written for Fultz by M. T. Reeves, in a letter dated Nov. 4, 1885.]

On July 11th 1864 companies D and C of the 11th Iowa went on the skirmish line at about 7 O'clock P. M. We had not been on duty but a short time when C. O. Chapman and myself made up our minds to have a talk with the Johnnies. Their lines were on the south bank of the Chattahoochie river and ours on the north bank. . . . We started and when about half way down between our line and the river we both lay down as flat on the ground as we could when I yelled, hello reb, and the reply was, hello Yank. Then I said, we want to come down to the river and have a talk with you fellows. All right, said the rebs, come ahead. Now, said Chapman, d--n your hides dont you fellows begin shooting when we come down there. Oh no, said the reb, when weuns tell uens that we wont shoot we wouldnt shoot one of uens no quickern we'd shoot one of weuns. We then went down to the river bank when the following conversation took place.

Reb — Boys come swim over. I want to trade canteens. I want a Yankee canteen.

M T R — I will come over if you will give me a suit of clothes and take me into Atlanta and back before daylight.

Reb, who was a Leut of the 41st Ga. inf. — I will lend you a suit of clothes take you to town and bring you back again allright — which I be-

<sup>26</sup> For other instances of this type of fraternization, see Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank* (Indianapolis, 1951), Chap. XIII.



leave he would have done but I had to back out for the truth was that I could never swim neither could Comrade Chapman. The conversation was changed and I asked, What are you fellows fighting for?

Reb — We are fighting for our rights.

M T R — Yes I have heard that but never have yet found one who could tell me what your rights are.

Reb — Well I am just the one that can tell you. Youens of the north could take your cattle horses and other property into Kansas and the law would protect your property while if we took our niggers which is better property than your cattle or horses we would not be protected by the law.

M T R — President Lincoln said in his inaugural address that he did not intend to meddle with the institution of slavery where it then existed. If you of the South had waited and Lincoln had undertaken to free your slaves and you had taken up the old stars and stripes there is not one in ten in the northern army but what would have been on your side but now you took up another flag and are trying to destroy this government.

We then told them that we could not swim but that we had some coffee which we wanted to trade for tobacco. Then two young fellows swam over to us with what they called a long John plug of tobacco. We talked together for some time and the rebels said that if the northern and southern armies could get together and talk matters over that they would settle the war in one hour. They said that they were tired of the war but as they expected to make their homes in the south if they lived untill the war was over they would rather be killed on the field of battle than to desert and they added we have nothing against uens but if weuns meet uens on the field we will fight like H-I-I. Just before the rebels started to swim back two of the 68th Ohio boys came down and swam back with the rebels. As they started back I said to them go to camp and sleep good tonight but look out for what you may catch tomorrow. . . .

At 11 Oclock on the night of the 15th [of July] we were waked up and received orders to be ready to march at 4 Oclock in the morning and at the appointed hour we fell in and marched about 6 miles toward Marietta halting at 10 Oclock.<sup>27</sup> The boys having by some means got it into their heads that we were to remain for some length of time soon had shades and

<sup>27</sup> Sherman was preparing the ground for a crossing of the Chattahoochee and an attack on Atlanta. On July 13 he sent McPherson and the 15th Corps north to Roswell to prepare bridges for a crossing at that point, and on the 15th the 17th



bunks put up. But at 4 O'clock we got orders to be ready in one hour for the march and our bunks were used for camp fires. We started at 8 O'clock and at Midnight we reached a point one mile from Marietta where we made our bivouac for the night. . . .

About three fourths of the boys were habitual tobacco chewers and we had now been so long out of reach of a sutters chebang that they were all out of tobacco. It was amusing to see how they would husband the last corner of a plug. I have seen the Lieutenant who had a small peice about an inch square go away from the company and get behind a big tree as though he thought that the boys were all rebels thirsting for his gore and secretly unwrap the precious little chunk and take a small nibble and then carefully put it away again. I beleave that he had the only tobacco in the company and it would not have been a smell if passed around and wo to it if any of the tobacco chewing boys had detected him in taking a chew. There never had been any love lost between the boys and the captain [Shrope] but when the captain rejoined the company how glad the boys were to see him how eagerly each one was to shake him by the hand with what solicitude they enquired about his welfare and how eagerly they asked if he had any tobacco. Yes, said he, and produced a peice about 3 inches square. It barely went around leaving none for the captain who soon learned that tobacco had been scarce with the boys and that he had a good chance to get on the good side of the company. Having seen a Sutters Chebang near Marietta and about a mile from where we were he slipped away the next morning and returned with enough to supply the boys giving each a large peice.

We fell in at 6 O'clock on the morning of the 17th and started toward Roswell where we arrived at 8 O'clock in the evening and crossed the Chattahoochie river and marched untill 11 O'clock when we halted for the night.<sup>28</sup> The rebels had large cotton and woolen factories at Roswell which had been burned down a few days before by the 23d corps. On the 18th

Corps, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, was ordered to join McPherson. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:70-71.

<sup>28</sup> This was the beginning of Sherman's general movement against Atlanta, all his troops crossing the river on this day and moving from the east and northeast toward Atlanta. On the morning of the 18th Sherman learned that Jefferson Davis had removed Johnston from command at Atlanta and had replaced him with General John B. Hood. Sherman's forces were stopped, but not defeated, on July 22 by the furious "battle of Atlanta." *Ibid.*, 2:71-82.

we only advanced 8 miles the 15th corps being in our front detained us. At 3 O'clock in the afternoon we bivouacked on the bank of a large creek in an old field where black berries were plenty. On the next morning we had orders to be ready to start at 5 O'clock but did not get called into line untill 9 O'clock when we remained in line untill 11 O'clock and then started and went 2 miles and halted untill 6 O'clock in the evening when we again started and marched 4 miles halting for the night at 10 O'clock. The 15th corps detained us during the day. We started on the morning of the 20th passing through Decatur about noon after which we made our advance in line of battle and developed the rebel works during the afternoon and lay in line of battle untill night when we prepared to fortify. There was severe skirmishing the afternoon and General Gresham who had went to the skirmish line was severely wounded.<sup>29</sup>

At 2 O'clock on the morning of July 21st we commenced fortifying and by 7 O'clock our works were finished. The brigade was in two lines the 13th and 15th in front and the 11th and 16th in the rear both lines having built breast works. At half past 8 in the forenoon we suddenly received orders to fall in and charge the rebel works. There had been a terrible blunder made no other troops having the order to charge. Our brigade was unsupported on both flanks and we were repulsed. The 13th lost 99 men killed and wounded and the 15th about 65 men. The 11th and 16th being in support did not lose any men. At half past 2 O'clock the brigade was moved to the left flank of the army and commenced building breastworks and cutting down the timber in their front. Company D went out as skirmishers and remained out all night.

On the morning of the 22nd we were ordered to advance our skirmish line untill the rebel works were developed. The country was heavily timbered and it was almost impossible to keep the company in line while advancing as not more than 4 or 5 men could be seen at the same time. While advancing the boys found considerable plunder of various kinds which was piled up and M. B. Bowles was left to guard it. That was the last time any of us ever saw Bowles. Our good by to him that day was the

<sup>29</sup> Brig. Gen. Walter Q. Gresham, in command of the Fourth Division of the 17th Army Corps, was wounded and carried from the field, his command being taken over temporarily by Col. William Hall of the 11th Iowa. On July 21 Brig. Gen. Giles A. Smith was assigned to succeed Gresham. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 110; Part III, 580.

last we ever gave. In less than 3 hours after he was captured by the rebels and sent to Andersonville prison where he died. . . .

We advanced over a mile and halted at a line of works that had been thrown up by the rebels. We were then on the extreme left of the skirmish line and more than a mile from the brigade without any intervening support. At noon we heard heavy firing in our rear and soon found out that the rebels had gone around our left and got between us and the brigade which they had attacked in force.<sup>30</sup> We rallied and tried to return to the brigade but had to keep more to the right to avoid the rebel army. As we passed down along the front of the rebel forts near the city of Atlanta they shelled us but as we were on the run their shells almost always fell behind us. We got so near the city that we could look along its streets which were deserted. . . .

There was a company of the 32nd Ohio out with us on the skirmish line who tried to rejoin their regiment but not keeping in ranks they were taken prisoners except their Captain who remained with us. He done his best to save his company but they would not mind him and in consequence were all taken prisoners. After the alarm was given and Company D undertook to get back to the line of battle we had to run so far that the men were exhausted and when we reported to the regiment on the 23d they were surprised to see us as the officers of the regiment had reported us as being taken prisoners by the rebels. Capt. Shrope displayed great gallantry on the 22nd and the fact of the company getting out of their close quarters was in a large measure due to his bravery on that occasion and the fact that the company kept together and obeyed each command also conduced to their escape. No company of men were ever in closer quarters and made a more gallant escape or run a longer gauntlet of an enemys fire with so little loss to themselves. . . .

We failed to find the regiment but got into line between the 17th Wisconsin and the 40th Ills. where we remained all day fortifying our position both in front and rear having to fight in both directions. . . . The battle

<sup>30</sup> The thick forest mentioned by Fultz had made it possible for the Confederates to flank the 16th and 17th Corps. Quick action by the Union forces, in consolidating their lines, turned back this surprise attack. McPherson, who was with Sherman at this time, to the north at the Howard House, heard the heavy firing and set out with his staff to find out what was happening. On his way to his troops, McPherson was killed. A week later Sherman appointed Gen. O. O. Howard to succeed McPherson in command of the Army of the Tennessee. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:77-85.

was a hard one and was kept up untill dark and our army although taken somewhat by surprise made the rebels pay dearly for their attack their loss being estimated at 7000 and ours at a little over 3000.<sup>31</sup> The 17th Wisconsin which was on our left were a regiment of Irishmen and although brave to rashness they were flighty and hard to control. They would suddenly take a notion when no rebels were in sight to fire off their guns and sometimes when some of their own men were out to the front they would suddenly and without giving any notice pour some terrific volleys in that direction in spite of all that their officers could do. I did not learn if they killed or wounded any of their own men but if they did not it was very lucky.

On the morning of the 23d we were up at 3 O'clock and fixed our breastworks. Everything was quiet along the lines that day and at 6 O'clock in the evening we returned to the regiment and built breastworks. We learned that the loss of the regiment was 137 men killed and wounded. . . .

On the 26th the smell from the battle field began to be very offensive and at dark we got orders to be ready to march at a moments notice. After dark the rebels sent up several signal rockets which were of various colors and were a splendid sight and a free exhibition to our brigade. At half past one O'clock that night we quietly evacuated our works and started toward the right of our army lines stopping one hour at Peach tree creek for breakfast.<sup>32</sup> We reached the right of our army lines at dark when we halted and stacked arms having marched about 18 miles. It rained all that afternoon making the roads muddy and marching disagreeable.

We were waked up at daylight on the 28th and started forward in line of battle to develop the rebel works, Companies B and D being on the skirmish line and Captain Shrope being in command of the skirmishers. After advancing about two miles through the woods we found the rebel picket line on the east side of a deep ravine and when advancing toward their line they gave us several volleys which our boys returned. When the

<sup>31</sup> Estimates of losses were 3,521 in the Union army; Confederate losses were estimated at over 2,000 captured, 3,000 known dead. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part V, 249.

<sup>32</sup> Sherman now moved his troops from the east of Atlanta around to the west and then to the south, in an effort to reach the railroad south of the city. Since the Union forces held the railroads on the east and north of Atlanta, the remaining line to the south must be cut in order to seal off the city. On July 28, at the battle of Ezra Church, Sherman's forces defeated the Confederates, who attempted to stop the circling movement. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:87; map facing p. 72.



firing commenced the troops on the left of Company D fell back leaving our flank exposed. Our boys however kept their position and being in charge of the left of the company I immediately sent word along the line to the captain who was at the right that our left was exposed and that it would not do to advance in that manner. So he came and ordered up the other part of the line up to where we were holding our position. About that time the rebels made a charge a short distance to our right on the 15th corps and were repulsed leaving 601 dead upon the field among them one woman. A portion of our brigade was sent to reinforce the 15th corps and were engaged in the battle.

At dark we formed picket line. We were in the timber and it was a cloudy night and very dark. At 8 O'clock the rebels knowing our position and having got range commenced shelling us most vigorously throwing almost every shell into the left of Company D where the pony squad was stationed. Dark as the night was the bursting of shells lit up the woods so that objects could be plainly seen for several yards in every direction. I had just placed C. O. Chapman on vidette about 25 yards in front of the reserve and was returning when the shelling commenced and it was kept up for about an hour and when it ceased I went to look how Chapman was getting along. The night was so dark that the trees and brush could not be seen and I frequently ran against a tree or was struck in the face by the brush. After going to where I thought that Chapman was stationed I cautiously called to him and he answered a few feet to my left. I said, Chapman are you alive, and he thought it was a huge joke for me to ask him that question but said he, I might as well have been killed as mortally scared to death.

I relieved Chapman with one of our recruits staying awake myself at the post. In two hours after I again went to relieve the vidette and found him fast asleep. The fatigue and loss of sleep during the previous 48 hours had been so increscent that it was impossible for the soldier to keep awake in a position of such great responsability and danger. No allusion was ever made to the matter . . . untill long after. . . .

On the 29th we were relieved and returned to the regiment which had fortified on the hill in the rear of our skirmish line and the next day the brigade moved about three fourths of a mile to the right near Ezra church where the battle of the 28th had been fought. . . .



[For about a month the 11th Iowa remained in this position, almost constantly under fire, while Sherman sent cavalry below Atlanta to break the line of railroad leading into the city. The railroad ran south from Atlanta to East Point, where it forked, the Atlanta and West Point running southwesterly, the Macon and Western southeasterly and then south through Jonesborough. Finding at last that his cavalry could not break the railroad permanently, Sherman decided to move his infantry around to do the job. On August 25 he began another of his great wheeling movements, sending the troops from his left around to the right, leaving a token force in the trenches. The 11th Iowa moved on August 26.]

At 8 O'clock in the evening [August 25, 1864] we quietly fell back to our first line of works leaving a picket line to prevent the rebels from learning of our movements. On the 26th we were on the alert all day expecting an attack from the rebels who shelled us considerably a shell cutting a large limb off of a tree, severely wounding one of Company C's boys in its fall. That night at 9 O'clock we fell in and started south in the direction of Jonesboro our objective point being the west point rail road.<sup>33</sup> We halted at half past three O'clock on the morning of the 27th to rest and make coffee for breakfast. And at half past 7 O'clock we again started a march of five miles bringing us to a large creek [Camp Creek] where we halted at half past ten O'clock to take a rest that was much needed. We started again at 5 O'clock in the afternoon and marched about three miles and halted for the night. The next day August 28th companies C and D did not start until 11 O'clock in the forenoon being rear guard to the whole army. A march of 6 miles brought us to the Montgomery rail road<sup>34</sup> where we halted at 3 O'clock when company C and 13 men of Company D in charge of the writer went on picket the balance of the regiment tearing up and destroying rail road. On the evening of the 29th we were relieved and returned to the regiment and the next morning the Officers of the regiment held a meeting and elected Captain Beach as Major, Major Foster having died of wounds received on July 22nd.

At daylight that morning [August 30] the 15th and 16th corps com-

<sup>33</sup> For this movement, see *ibid.*, 2:105ff.

<sup>34</sup> The Atlanta and West Point Railroad ran southwesterly toward Montgomery, Alabama, which explains Fultz's use of this name for the road. The name was also used in many of the officers' reports. See, for instance, Gen. Giles A. Smith's report of this movement in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 585.

menced passing and were followed by the 17th corps. Our brigade remaining as rear guard which was a position of great responsibility as we were between the rebel army in Atlanta and our own army in front. It was nearly ten O'clock at night when the rear of the wagon train got started and we fell in and followed after it. The night was warm and pleasant and the wagon train moved very slow and stopped very often. At daylight on the 31st we were just 2 miles from the place where we started the evening before having passed most of the night in laying along side of the road waiting for the wagon train to get out of the way. At 4 O'clock in the afternoon we reached the lines of the army near Jonesboro where the rebels were prepared to dispute our way. The brigade was maneuvered around until nearly 9 O'clock when we relieved the cavalry on the extreme right where we remained nearly two hours when we were waked up and marched three miles to the left and commenced to fortify. On the morning of Sept. 1st our works were finished. And soon after the battle opened on our left our boys driving the enemy from their entrenchments. Our brigade was in sight of the battle but was not engaged except that our batteries shelled the rebels while the troops to our left were making their charge. The rebel loss was severe and among the prisoners taken was the rebel General [Daniel C.] Govan with the greater part of his brigade. Govan's brigade were the rebel troops that captured the 16th Iowa on the 22nd of July at Atlanta.

At half past 3 O'clock in the afternoon the brigade fell in and marched to the extreme right of the army line and took position in line and commenced fortifying. We were moved several times and every time we commenced throwing up works each company carrying three axes three spades and three picks. At 9 O'clock we finally got a settled position and built a line of breastworks before laying down to sleep. The boys were so worn out for want of rest and sleep that many times they would go to sleep with the spades and picks in their hands and it required constant watching to keep them at work. That night heavy explosions were heard at Atlanta and we supposed at the time that the 20th corps had attacked the city but afterward learned that it was the rebels blowing up their magazines and destroying an immense amount of military stores preparing to evacuate the city. . . .<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum, with the 20th Corps, had remained in front of Atlanta, 20 miles to the north of the main body of the army, now around Jonesborough. Sherman heard the explosions from the direction of Atlanta on the night

[The 11th Iowa remained at Lovejoy's Station, skirmishing with the Confederate forces, from September 2-5.]

At 9 O'clock that night [September 5] we quietly evacuated our works and like a defeated and demoralised army we started back toward Atlanta.<sup>36</sup> The bottom had fallen out of the roads and the mud had been so much trampled through by the troops and wagons that had proceeded us that it was a thin slush of mud and water knee deep to the men. We struggled along sometimes in crowds without any regular order and sometimes in single file several feet apart. Every few minutes some one of the boys would miss his footing and stumble and fall headlong into the mud and then likely lose the grasp of his gun which would have to be hunted out of the mud, the darkness being so intense that the ground could not be seen and the mud was so thin that a gun would sink beneath the surface. Our march resembled anything rather than the march of a triumphant army. We marched 10 miles that night and at daylight we halted near our old breast works at Jonesboro for breakfast after which we again started and marched four miles and halted. It rained that afternoon. On the next morning being the 7th we fell in and marched 7 miles toward Atlanta going into camp at 2 O'clock and that evening Company D went on picket. The following congratulatory orders were read to the army during the evening.

Executive Mansion

Washington Sept 3d 1864

The national thanks are rendered by the President to Major-General W. T. Sherman and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under Divine favor, has resulted in the capture of Atlanta. The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations, that have signalized the campaign, must render it famous in the annals of war,

of August 30-September 1, and thought they might mean a battle there. The following day he received word that Slocum was in Atlanta. "So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won," Sherman wrote to Halleck on September 3. "I shall not push much farther on this raid, but in a day or so will move to Atlanta and give my men some rest." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:108-109; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 777.

<sup>36</sup> Sherman ordered the movement back to Atlanta on August 5, assigning the Army of the Cumberland to Atlanta, the Army of the Tennessee to East Point, and the Army of the Ohio to Decatur. He now intended to "think over well" his next step. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:110.

and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the nation.

Abraham Lincoln

City Point Va Sept 4th 1864

Major-General Sherman: I have just received your dispatch announcing the capture of Atlanta. In honor of your great victory I have ordered a salute to be fired with *shot* guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy. The salute will be fired within an hour, amid great rejoicing.

U. S. Grant.<sup>37</sup>

After the reading of those orders the troops of the whole army were wild with joy and made the woods ring with their cheers. And all the bands in the army that had for 3 months been compelled to remain silent now played their most exultant airs each trying to make more noise than the other, so that the woods in evry direction resounded with martial music. The safety of the cracker line as the boys termed the railroad was now secure for a time at least and letters could come from and go to our friends without interruption. Evry one seemed satisfied with himself and with the result of the campaign. . . .

[The regiment remained near Atlanta until September 30, when it was sent on one of the expeditions trying to stop Hood's forces from cutting the Union line of supplies to the north. On November 6 the 11th Iowa was back at Marietta. Meanwhile, Sherman had finally received grudging permission from Lincoln and Grant to cut himself off from his base of supplies and to undertake his famous "march to the sea" through Georgia.]

On the 8th of November was election day and the boys all went to the regiment during the forenoon and voted and evry boy voted just as he shot, the company making a clean record. That afternoon we called to see the paymaster W. Penn Clark, who handed us the greenbacks due for the last 6 months and an installment of 50 dollars on our bounty. We had now plenty of money but it was of little use to us. There were no merchants in

<sup>37</sup> In addition, Lincoln ordered that on September 7 a salute of 100 guns was to be fired at the arsenals at Washington, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Newport (Kentucky), St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Hilton Head, and New Berne "for the brilliant achievements of the army under command of Major-General Sherman in the State of Georgia, and the capture of Atlanta." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 87.



that God forsaken country as the boys called it and the rapid movements of the army had made it too risky for the suttlers and they had all deserted us months before. Our cracker line however was now all right and mails were reguler and the boys enclosed hundreds of dollars in envelopes directed to their friends at home and put in the mail and I never heard of a single dollar being lost in that way. The mail bag of the 11th regiment was a gunny sack that had done duty in bringing oats to the army. This sack was kept hanging on a stake or bush when the regiment was at a halt and any one that wished to send mail away could go and put it into this sack. On this occasion the sack was so full that it could scarcely be tied. The regimental postmaster told the writer that it was so heavy that he could scarcely carry it.

It was on Nov. 8th that the orders of General Sherman were issued to the army giving the boys an idea of what was coming but where our destination would be was a matter of conjecture.<sup>38</sup> The boys gathered in groups and began to discuss the probable destination of the army. Either we were going South to Mobile or else we were going South east to Savanna [*sic.* Savannah, Georgia] and from there to Virginia to cooperate with the Eastern army in Virginia. The acuteness of their perceptions was surprising. It was not mere guess work. The experiance of more than three years of soldier life had given them a sufficient knowledge of millitary movements to enable them to tell with a tolerable degree of certainty what the next move would be.

<sup>38</sup> The following is Special Field Order No. 119, issued by L. M. Dayton, aide-de-camp, in Sherman's name on Nov. 8, 1864: "The general commanding deems it proper at this time to inform the officers and men of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Corps that he has organized them into an army for a special purpose, well known to the War Department and to General Grant. It is sufficient for you to know that it involves a departure from our present base, and a long and difficult march to a new one. All the chances of war have been considered and provided for, as far as human sagacity can. All he asks of you is to maintain that discipline, patience, and courage which have characterized you in the past, and he hopes, through you, to strike a blow at our enemy that will have a material effect in producing what we all so much desire — his complete overthrow. Of all things the most important is that the men, during marches and in camp, keep their places in detail. It is also of the utmost importance that our wagons should not be loaded with anything but provisions and ammunition. All surplus servants, non-combatants, and refugees should now go to the rear, and none should be encouraged to encumber us on the march. . . . With these few simple cautions in your minds, he hopes to lead you to achievements equal in importance to those of the past." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part III, 701; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:174.



On the 9th we moved to the south side of the Chattahoochie river where we remained all night it raining hard and the next day we marched to Atlanta. . . . On the evening of November 11th 1864 the last mail that left Atlanta before we started on our march to the sea started out and that night there were several large fires in the city some of which were so close to our quarters that we deemed it prudent to keep a sentinal on duty to give the alarm in case of danger.<sup>39</sup> On the 12th and 13th large details were at work tearing up the rail road and the many side tracks in Atlanta. The ties were piled up and burned and the rails were laid on the piles of burning ties untill they were heated red hot in the middle and then a lever was fastened by a hook to each end of the rail and by turning the levers in opposite directions it twisted the rails so as to make them worthless.

On the 13th clothing was issued to the army but the boys did not take anything except what they were actually in need of. They knew that a long weary march was ahead of them and they had also learned that the less load that they had to carry the better they would get along. Heretofore the camp hatchets and frying pans of the boys were hauled. Now no camp equipage of any kind would be hauled by the boys. The Officers could have a small valice and a roll of blankets and a tent fly. But the privates were to be their own pack mules and were to carry evrything they needed including their tents. Those tents were what the boys called dog tents and were a single width of muslin a trifle longer than a man and were made in such a way that two of them could be buttoned together to form a tent. So that evry two men carried a tent. But a great many of the boys looked on them with contempt and refused to carry them. The camp hatchet of which Company D retained but one was carried by turns and the frying pans of which evry four men had one were in like manner carried by turns and was usually tied fast near the middle of the boys gun, experiance having shown that it was easier carried in that manner than any other way. A large majoraty of the boys discarded their knapsacks and carried their blankets. . . .<sup>40</sup> The boys of company D and also of other companies had

<sup>39</sup> Sherman ordered the destruction of "all depots, car-houses, shops, factories, foundries, &c" in Atlanta, so as to prevent the city being used as a military base in his rear while on his march south. Capt. O. M. Poe of the Corps of Engineers was assigned the task on Nov. 7. On Nov. 11 Sherman instructed Poe: "You may commence the work of destruction at once, but don't use fire until toward the last moment." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part III, 680, 741.

<sup>40</sup> For a description of the way the soldiers had adjusted to long marches and

packed evrything except just what they had on into their knapsacks and sent them with the company chest to Chattanooga where they were to be left untill they could be shipped to us, and for all we know they are at Chattanooga yet.

Of amunition the government was very liberal and the old man (the name given to General Sherman by the boys) must have thought that the boys were able to carry amunition enough for a long campaign as in addition to their regular forty rounds in their cartridge boxes they were expected to carry an even one hundred rounds in any way that they thought fit.

Ten days rations were issued which the boys were to carry in their haversacks. The rations of coffee sugar and salt were full rations but of other things there were three days rations to last ten and the boys were expected to furnish the delinquency themselves and as long as they were on the march they gave themselves no trouble on that score for they were such excellent providers that they were in better flesh and spirits when reaching Savanna than when leaving Atlanta. And the living to them was more satisfactory than it ever had been heretofore since joining the army. Sweet potatoes with fresh beef or pork and a Turkey, Goose or chicken formed the greater part of the subsistance on the march. When one of the boys had run down a porker and got it so that he could call it *My Meat* he usually skined out the hams and the first one to come after him went for the shoulders leaving the middle for a less fortunate comrade who would usually take what suited him and thus the entire hog would be utilized.<sup>41</sup> It is an undoubted fact that no army ever marched with so little to impede its progress and no soldiers ever adapted themselves so willingly to the circumstances.

On the morning of the 15th of November 1864 our wagon train pulled out of Atlanta, the city being on fire in many places and we were greatly detained by the wagons in our front.<sup>42</sup> It rained all afternoon and we did

camp life, see Mildred Throne (ed.), "A Commissary in the Union Army: Letters of C. C. Carpenter," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:81-3 (January, 1955).

<sup>41</sup> There was a great deal of individual foraging during the march, but regularly organized foraging parties collected most of the food required by the 60,000 men "marching through Georgia." Each brigade sent out a foraging party that stripped the country along the line of march of food, horses, mules, and forage for the animals. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:173, 175.

<sup>42</sup> Sherman's army was divided into the right wing (15th Corps, Major-Gen. P. J. Osterhaus; 17th Corps, Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair), and the left wing (14th Corps, Maj. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis; 20th Corps, Brig. Gen. A. S. Williams). The right

not reach the place where our corps was encamped untill four Oclock on the morning of the 16th being then about 15 miles from Atlanta. When we halted Jerry J. Miller and myself went to look for water for the use of our mess and after filling our canteens and when returning to the company we passed through General Potts<sup>43</sup> head quarters where they were all asleep. The Generals cooks had prepared about half a bushel of sweet potatoes for breakfast in anticipation of an early start in the morning. The temptation was too great for hungry boys that had been up all night assisting teams to move along the muddy road. So reaching down we got hold of the camp kettle and carryed it to the company and had sweet potatoes for supper as we called the meal. . . .

At 6 Oclock orders were received to hitch up and be ready to pull out but we had scarcely got hitched up when we were ordered to unhitch and wait untill noon. At noon we again hitched up and waited untill 2 Oclock before we got started. We marched untill nearly 9 Oclock when we cor-  
relled the train and got supper and were just prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night when the order came to again move forward. We marched steady untill 3 Oclock on the morning of the 17th when we halted and lay down to sleep having marched about 15 miles. The country was rolling and thickly settled, forage of all kinds being plenty. This continued night marching told fearfully on both men and mules, there being little time to take the needed rest.

The profanity of the teamsters on this march was something remarkable, all the elobratness and comprehensiveness of the english language reinforced by the choisest oaths from the german and other languages proved to be insufficient to express their feelings as they desired. Oaths of the most intricate construction and far reaching meaning were continually bursting on the midnight air. All things visible and invisible known or unknown. The Union and the confederacy were alike damned. And the swearer wished them all in the farthest corner of the lowest depths of the sulphurous shades of the bottomless pit and wished himself somewhere near

wing, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, followed the railroad southeast to Jonesborough. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:171, 177.

<sup>43</sup> Brig.-Gen. B. F. Potts commanded the 1st Brigade, 4th Division, 17th Corps. The 3rd Brigade of this division, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, was now under the command of Brig. Gen. W. W. Belknap, whose promotion had caused the resignation of Colonel William Hall on Aug. 1, 1864. *Ibid.*, 2:336; *Roster and Record*, 2:284.

there because he was unable to express himself with language of sufficient strength or meaning as he thought the occasion required. Nor was this profanity solitary or spasmodic. It was continual and unanimous. . . .

[This steady marching continued day after day, and night after night, with little to impede the progress of the army. On November 18 the army reached the Ocmulgee River, which they crossed on pontoon bridges. Here they met some Confederate cavalry, but only token resistance was made. On November 22 they reached Gordon, twelve miles west of Milledgeville, the capital of the state. Here the left and right wings of the army joined, and Sherman could report, "The first stage of the journey was . . . complete, and absolutely successful."]

The country around Gordon was rolling and covered with pine timber the soil being sandy. The soldiers were all busy during the afternoon tearing up and destroying rail road. Considerable discussion had been indulged in by the boys as to the probable destination of the army and we had now reached the point where they were going to be able to decide the question. If we started south or southwest when leaving Gordon we would go to Mobile but if we went east or southeast then we would join our cracker line at Savanna and the boys were very busy guessing in what direction we would go when starting the next morning. Charles Waltar [Walter] who had found a little something to drink that had enlivened his spirits and loosened his tongue was busy trying to get some one to bet with him that he did not know which way the army would go. For, said he, we will either go to the right of Milledgeville or else to the left of it or else we will go right through it. If we don't then said he I am a contented continental son of a sea cook.

On the morning of the 23d we started going in the direction of Savanna. The roads were muddy and the passage of so many heavy wagons with the tramping of the mules had made them a bottomless abys of mud and the boys were kept busy in assisting the teams and in carrying rails to corduroy the road.<sup>44</sup> Our progress was remarkable slow. We halted at noon and waited untill 5 O'clock for the wagons ahead of us to get across a swamp and then started and stalled with our train in the swamp and after working

<sup>44</sup> According to Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair, the 17th Corps laid 26,500 yards of corduroy and 700 yards of bridging during the march, in addition to cutting 19 miles of road through timber and clearing 2,100 yards of obstruction. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIV, 148-9.



untill 10 Oclock to get it out we carrelled alongside of the road having made but five miles that day. The country was level and swampy and covered with pine timber. We started at 8 Oclock on the morning of the 23d and a march of 12 miles brought us to Toons Station [Toombsborough] where we halted for the night. The army tore up a large part of the rail road that day. [Georgia Central Railroad].

On our march that day we passed through a field where a large lot of sugar cane was buried to be used for planting the next spring. The cane had been placed in piles fully 20 rods long and about four feet high and four feet wide and was then covered over with ground to the depth of four inches, the object being to keep it from the frost. When planted it would be buried in the ground the stalks laying lengthwise of the furrow and each joint would start a new hill of cane. The boys soon found out what was in the ridges and soon gave the cane a lift and evry one was carrying a sugar cane from which he was trying to extract the juice by human suction.

We started at 9 Oclock on the morning of the 25th and marched 5 miles halting at 3 Oclock. We were again detained by bad roads and a great deal of corduroy was laid by the army. That evening we heard heavy firing in front and were afterward told that it was our brigade driving the rebels away from the rail road three miles of which were destroyed. The country was thickly settled and forage was plenty. We lay by during the forenoon of the 26th starting at one Oclock, the army having been engaged in destroying rail road. We were untill 4 Oclock in getting to the Ogeechee [sic. Oconee] river one mile. It was an allmost bottomless swamp and there were no fields in sight so that rails to corduroy were not to be had. Many of the worst places were corduroyed with small trees but it consumed a great deal of time to thus fix the roads. We halted at half past 5 Oclock having marched but 3 miles that afternoon.

The wagon belonging to the 11th Iowa broke down near the river and was repaired by a peice of another broken wagon that was hauled along for that purpose. Allmost daily changes were made in the make up of the teams by replacing the poorest mules with others taken from the plantations along the road. This part of Georgia was noted for its superior mules and the nicest and best mules in the army were those gobbled since leaving Atlanta. At that time the team of the eleventh regiment consisted of 8 nice large mules instead of 6 small ones when leaving Atlanta. . . .



The greater part of the country since leaving the Ocmulgee river was covered with pine timber which grew very short and stood rather thick. The trees were all of a uniform height of from 20 to 25 feet to the branches which were usually wide spreading for pine. But we had now entered a different kind of pine timber. Here the pine trees rose streight in the air for nearly 100 feet, surmounted with a small top of brilliant green through which the air passed keeping up a continual moaning sighing sound. The trees did not grow close together and there was no undergrowth so that the boys could march alongside of the road while the wagon train had a clear road which shortened the column and gave us a much better chance for defence in case the train had been attacked. This tall pine timber continued untill we reached Savanna.

We started at 6 Oclock on the morning of Dec. 1st and a march of 2 miles brought us to the Ogeechee river which we crossed at 7 Oclock and the regiment went 4 miles up the rail road to the 100 mile post being 100 miles from Savanna. We tore up rail road burning the ties and twisting the rails. We had learned by this time that rails that were merely bent could again be heated and straightened so as to be used again and the boys were determined that the rebels should never again use those rails. So after they were heated in the middle for about 10 or 12 feet of their length they would fasten a peice of telegraph wire on each end and 6 or 8 of them would get hold of each end and take it to a tree or telegraph pole and going around in opposite directions would wind the rail around the tree. The boys called them neck ties and sometimes there would be 6 or 8 of those neck ties around one tree. At 2 P. M. we returned to Station 9 which was near to where we had crossed the Ogeechee river. Here we rested a short time when we again started forward marching untill half past five when we halted for the night 7 miles from Station 9.

The country was flat and swampy and forage became scarcer as we neared Savanna. We started at 8 Oclock on the morning of the 2nd and a march of 12 miles brought us to Millen where the rebels had a prison pen. It was a hard looking place allthough empty. The holes and dug outs that had [been] occupied by our boys (who were prisoners in the rebels hands) were there yet. Many of them had no other covering than pine boughs set up so that their tops met in the middle over the holes and in a measure turned the water when it rained. The writer was detailed that

evening on picket guard and did not rejoin the regiment until 9 O'clock on the morning of the 3rd when he found it tearing up rail road 3 miles from Millen. . . .

[Marching and destroying railroad tracks continued steadily until the army reached the fortifications around Savannah on December 10.]

During the forenoon [of December 9] we passed a line of breastworks that had been evacuated by the rebels who had placed torpedoes in the road some of which had been exploded by the cavalry but did no harm, so far as I ever heard. General Sherman ordered the rebel prisoners in our hands to march along the road in order to test it.<sup>45</sup> The army marched alongside of the road, the timber being open. We marched 11 miles that day. On the morning of December 10th the march was resumed, our brigade being in the advance of the 17 corps. Four miles brought us in sight of the rebel line of breastworks at Savanna when we formed line of battle.<sup>46</sup>

The 16th Iowa destroyed a portion of the railroad by turning it over upside down. The 32nd Ills. and 16th Iowa filed to the left and formed in line of battle across to the east side of the rail road and threw out skirmishers. The 11th formed on the west side of the rail road their left resting on the rail road and their right extending to the wagon road where they were joined by the 15th and 13th [Iowa] in line of battle, each regiment covered by its own skirmishers. The rebels shelled us quite lively, their large 32 and 64 lb shells tearing through the tops of the tall pine trees hurling branches and splinters in all directions. It was demoralizing but the damage was slight.

There was a tall Irishman in company D by the name of McColly [Alexander McCauley] who was one of our last batch of recruits and had never been under fire and when the shelling began it was impossible to keep McColly in his place in ranks as he was all the time trying to dodge behind

<sup>45</sup> "This was not war, but murder," wrote Sherman, "and it made me very angry." One young lieutenant had lost a foot as the result of one of these torpedoes. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:194.

<sup>46</sup> Sherman had found Savannah well fortified, under the command of Gen. William J. Hardee, and therefore he prepared to invest the city by placing the 14th Corps on the left, next the 20th Corps, then the 17th, and the 15th on the right, completely circling the city, except for the side on the Savannah River. A few miles south of Savannah the Ogeechee River entered the ocean at Ossabaw Sound, where the Federal fleet lay, blockading Savannah and waiting for Sherman. Fort McAllister on the Ogeechee protected Savannah from the south. *Ibid.*, 2:194-6.

a tree. I kept telling him that he was safer in his place in ranks and while I was trying to persuade him to quit dodgeing behind the trees a shell struck a stump a short distance to our right and killed a boy who had lain down behind it for safety. I pointed to the spot and said to McColly, now if that boy had not got behind that stump he would not have got killed. McColly then stepped into his place and remained there untill the shelling ceased.

Near the place where we had formed our line of battle was General Sherman. He had dismounted and was walking up and down the road with his head bent down and his hands crossed behind his back and seemed to be in deep study and paid no heed to the shot and shell that went tearing along the road. The boys thought that he was exposing himself unnecessarily and wished for the sake of all concerned that "the Old Man" would look a leedle out and seek a safer place at least untill we had made connection with the fleet (that the citizens had told us was off the coast waiting for us) and our cracker line made sure.

At dark we were moved the length of our regiment to the left crossing the Georgia central rail road where we built breast works. It rained hard during the night. During the forenoon of the 11th we heard heavy firing to the right, the 15th corps having passed in that direction the day before. At noon we were releaved by the 14th corps that had just arrived and we marched about 6 miles to the right and releaved the 15th corps who moved farther to the right. At dark the regiment went on picket near the canal which was a small affair connecting the Ogeechee river with the Savanna river near Savanna. At this time our rations were exhausted in the wagon train and the country around Savanna was so utterly destitute of provisions that nothing could be got that was fit to eat. We had driven all the cattle that we had met after leaving Atlanta along with us to Savanna and we had now issued to us 3 small ears of corn and a pound of beef without any salt as each days ration. We were releaved from picket at 8 Oclock in the morning of the 12th and returned to the brigade which then marched one mile to the rear and stacked arms. The brigade fell in at 2 Oclock and started toward the right having to cross a swamp on a causeway which was commanded by a rebel battery which was in full sight and commanded the causeway for about half a mile. The rebels shelled us quite lively but their shells either fell short or else flew over our heads. The boys paid no other

notice to the shelling than merely to increase their speed to a brisk walk. We halted at 7 O'clock having marched about 5 miles. On the 13th we got a little unhulled rice which we hulled by pounding it with our bayonets in our tin cups. One man could clean in half a day about as much as 2 men could eat for dinner.

That day the 4th division [*sic.* 2nd division] of the 15th corps captured fort McAllister which commanded the Ogeechee river thus making our communication with the fleet secure and our cracker line safe.<sup>47</sup> . . .

On the 16th the brigade fell in and marched to the Ogeechee river near fort McAllister where we arrived at noon and camped. Two small ships came up the river but there was no landing place, the water near the shore being shallow. On the 17th a detail of 220 men was made from the brigade to take out timber for a wharf. 52 of them were placed under charge of the writer and the orders were to hew 50 sticks of timber 50 feet long and 12 inches square. The pine trees were tall and slim and very straight, and we had no trouble in finding such trees as we wanted and at 4 O'clock we had the required number of sticks taken out in nice order and they were hauled away by the pioneers nearly as fast as we got them ready while at the same time a wharf was being built at the river so that ships could come in with the tide and land provisions. That day . . . we drew a few hard crackers the first we had seen for 8 days, and pounding rice was stopped, our cracker line being in working order. And the boys were satisfied that their troubles were about over and that the taking of Savannah was only a question of time and that time would be short.<sup>48</sup>

At dark we got orders to be ready to march at 1 O'clock in the night and at the appointed hour we were waked up and at 2 O'clock we started and marched 9 miles toward the center of our army lines around Savannah again crossing the narrow causeway and running the blockade of the rebel battery. We halted at 5 O'clock on the morning of the 19th and at dark

<sup>47</sup> On Dec. 12 Sherman ordered Brig. Gen. W. B. Hazen, in command of the 2nd division of the 15th Corps, to take Fort McAllister, thus opening the Ogeechee River to the fleet, which lay off-shore. Sherman, across the river, watched the assault from the roof of a shed, meanwhile catching sight of a naval vessel steaming up the river toward the Fort. Almost at the same time, he saw the Fort captured. That night Sherman was rowed down the river to the fleet, from whence he sent notes to Grant and to Secretary of War Stanton, announcing the completion of his march to the sea. *Ibid.*, 2:192-201.

<sup>48</sup> On Dec. 17 Sherman sent a letter to Hardee at Savannah, asking his surrender, a request that Hardee refused. *Ibid.*, 2:210-12.



we got orders to prepare to go to work on breastworks at midnight and at midnight we fell in and after waiting a few minutes we were ordered to remain where we were only a part of the regiment going to work. I drew rations from the Quarter Master and issued to the company before laying down again. . . . On the 20th our foragers brought us a lot of oysters from the sea shore. They were growed together in bunches as large as a half bushel and only a few of the outside ones were fit to eat. On the morning of the 21st our skirmishers discovered that the rebels had evacuated their works and left.<sup>49</sup> . . .

At 9 O'clock we fell in and marched into Savanna where we arrived at noon, having to come in by a round about way on account of the water in front of the rebel breast works. During the afternoon we fixed up camp and built chebangs. Nothing worthy of note occurred except that our recruits were drilled every day and we had company inspection every evening until the 28th when we prepared for review and on the 29th the 17th Corps was reviewed by General Sherman and on the 30th the 20th corps was reviewed and on the 31st it rained all day and we were mustered in the afternoon by Col. Beach. . . .

That night the pickets indulged in a great deal of firing, the boys shooting away the old year. Governor [William M.] Stone of Iowa was in the city and on the first of January 1865 he commissioned F. M. Walker as 1st Leut of Company D. That day there was whiskey issued to the army and many of the boys being tetotalers the rest got their rations and there was several drunken soldiers in camp. . . .

During the time we lay at Savanna Captain [James] Kelley<sup>50</sup> had company inspection every afternoon at 4 O'clock. The captain had the most explicit confidence in every man in the company in every respect but one.

<sup>49</sup> Learning that Maj. Gen. John G. Foster of the Dept. of the South, who had his troops in South Carolina, was with the fleet, Sherman on Dec. 18 left his troops, with orders not to attack yet, and rowed out to the fleet to suggest to Foster that he send one of his divisions to the river opposite Savannah to cut off Hardee's retreat from that direction. Foster agreed to the plan, and Sherman was on his way back to his position before Savannah on the evening of Dec. 21 when he learned that Hardee had already escaped across the river, just as Sherman had feared, and that Savannah was open to him. *Ibid.*, 2:216-17.

<sup>50</sup> The unpopular Capt. Andrew J. Shrope had not re-enlisted at the expiration of his service on Oct. 17, 1864, and James Kelley, who had risen from second corporal to first sergeant, was promoted to captain of the 11th Iowa on Oct. 27, 1864. He served in that position until the company was mustered out at Louisville on July 15, 1865. *Roster and Record*, 2:342, 381.

He could lay down and sleep in the presense of the enemy if he knew any of his boys were on picket or if a man was needed as a forlorn hope the captain had an abiding faith that any of his boys could be trusted or if grub was scarce and a forager was needed he could reccommend any member of his company. But there was one thing in which he never trusted the boys and that was to keep their guns in good order as evry day whenever there was an oppertunity we had company inspection. During the last 6 months of our service whenever we were at a halt or encamped even not excepting the last few weeks at Louisville, Ky. and up to the day before we were mustered out the last entry in my diary for each day is, We had company inspection by Captain Kelley. I have no doubt but Captain Kelley got so used to having inspection that after getting home he often when the sun went down behind the western hills called out, Company D fall in for inspection, and then suddenly remembered that he no longer had any company to inspect. . . .

[While the troops rested at Savannah, Sherman made plans for a new and more daring advance. Whereas he had crossed Georgia with hardly any resistance, a move northward toward a junction with Grant at Richmond would be resisted by as many troops as Lee could spare. Nevertheless, on January 2, 1865, after receiving word from Grant to start his northern expedition without delay, Sherman drew up his plans and set his army in motion. The right wing, under Howard, was sent by sea from Savannah to Beaufort, South Carolina, while the left wing, under Slocum, crossed into South Carolina over the Savannah River above Savannah. The two wings were to rendezvous at Pocotaligo, South Carolina.]

On the 5th [of January] we got orders to be ready to leave the next morning. And at 8 Oclock on the morning of the 6th we fell in and marched to fort Thunderbolt four miles below the city the rain pouring down all forenoon. We embarked on the Steam Ship Ceres at noon and at 2 Oclock we started down the inlet and as we struck the blue waters of the ocean the boys thought that they would like to taste salt water and many a coffee can was lowered to dip up the water and it required but very little to satisfy each man. The Ceres was a Clyde built steamer a very proof of British neutrality and had been captured while trying to run the blockade. She was long and narrow and had been built for speed and as she was intended for a blockade runner she had no accommodations below for soldiers and we

were all posted on deck. Standing on the deck were several crates of cabbage and barrels of potatoes. The boys were hungry for cabbage and helped themselves and when the Stewart came to get cabbage for supper and found none he asked the boys who had eat his cabbage. But no one could tell. Never mind, said he, it will not be long untill I see who has been eating cabbage.

When we had been about an hour on blue water the wind began to raise and the waves to roll giving the ship a rocking motion as she passed from one wave to the other. The boys thought it fine fun to thus ride over the waves untill the rocking motion began to effect their stomachs and the Stewarts cabbage came in sight and heaved overboard. Soon after dark the wind rose to a gale and the ship rocked fearfully making it a serious matter for the boys to hold fast and not get blown overboard. To add to the discomfort the night was very dark. We reached Beaufort, South Carolina, at midnight and remained on board the Ceres untill daylight when we were taken from the Ceres and landed by the Enoch Deans a smaller vessel. The wind was still high and the water in the harbour was rough and it was amusing to see what desperate efforts were made by the boys to stand up without holding to something. But boys raised on the prairies had no sea legs and were soon compelled to give up the effort. All were safely landed and as the boys stepped upon firm ground and formed line they fervently thanked god that they had escaped from an experiance compared to which ordinary soldiering was heavenly bliss. If the government had any use for them they were ready to go but would walk a thousand miles rather than take another such a ride.<sup>51</sup>

We marched about two miles south of town and camped. Beaufort was a beautiful little city with a Southernish aspect. The houses were all frame and were low and covered considerable ground and were encompassed by wide verandahs. The place was garrisoned by negro troops of Fosters corps

<sup>51</sup> Sherman tells the same story. Whether Fultz took this from Sherman's *Memoirs* cannot be definitely stated. Fultz began his history in 1885; Sherman's book was published in 1890. Possibly Fultz worked on his manuscript for several years, although there is evidence at the end that he was completing it in January of 1886, for he gives the number of survivors of the regiment at that date. According to Sherman: "I was really amused at the effect this short sea-voyage had on our men, most of whom had never before looked upon the ocean. Of course, they were fit subjects for sea-sickness, and afterward they begged me never again to send them to sea, saying they would rather march a thousand miles on the worst roads of the South than to spend a single night on the ocean." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:241.

who were all well clothed well armed and were in a good state of discipline. The stores were all open and were well supplied with goods of evry discription and for the first time in 8 months we could buy anything that was needed and the boys made good customers for the store keepers. The weather which had been pleasant during our stay at Savanna now turned cold and we were compelled to carry wood over a mile to make camp fires. . . .

On the 12th we drew Shelter tents. The boys called them pup tents. . . . At dark [Jan. 13, 1865] the brigade marched out about 4 miles and halted for the night at 8 Oclock. We were waked up at 3 Oclock on the morning of the 14th but did not get started untill 6 Oclock when we crossed Broad river on a pontoon bridge built on 27 canvass pontoons. Our advance skirmished with the rebels all that day.<sup>52</sup> At 3 Oclock they charged the rebels who were in a line of works and drove them out and at 6 Oclock we halted two miles from Pocotalligo [sic. Pocotaligo] S. C. on the deserted plantation of E. M. Hayward having marched 9 miles.

The brigade remained near Pocotalligo untill the 29th, company D going on picket near the main road on the north east side of camp. . . . Ephraim Cowden one of our recruits was a musician and a member of the regimental band and carried a violin and evry evening he would get out his violin and the boys would get out and enjoy what they called a stag dance. Those who represented Ladies were bareheaded while those who were called Gents wore their hats. And thus they tipped [sic] the light fantastic toe untill the bugles blew taps. . . .

[The troops were here delayed about a week by heavy rains and resulting high water. Sherman himself was at Beaufort on January 24, and from there he moved to Pocotaligo and personally scouted the lines held by his troops. Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard now commanded the troops in South Carolina that were pre-

<sup>52</sup> Blair reported this action: "On the 13th of January the command moved out via Port Royal Ferry [at the Broad River] toward Pocotaligo. A boat expedition, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kirby, was successful in securing the crossing at the ferry and covering the laying of a pontoon bridge 600 feet in length, which was completed before daylight, at which time the command again moved forward, the Third Division in advance, followed by the Fourth and First Divisions. The enemy, consisting of one regiment of cavalry and three pieces of artillery, was first encountered at a small stream about five miles from the ferry, in a strongly entrenched position. One brigade of the Third Division was immediately detached and turned their position, when they fell back rapidly on the direct road to Pocotaligo." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVII, Part I, 374.



pared to dispute Sherman's way through that state. On February 1, 1865, Sherman ordered the movement north to begin.]

On the 1st of February we started at 9 O'clock our brigade being rear guard. The roads were bad and the teams detained us a great deal. We marched about 8 miles and halted for the night in an old field. The brigade started at 7 O'clock on the morning of the 2nd but the 11th regiment was detailed as rear guards to the 17th corps and did not get started until 10 O'clock. The roads were bad and we got along very slow and did not reach the brigade until 9 O'clock having marched about 11 miles. The country was level and sandy. On the morning of the 3d companies I, K, and A went as escort to a forage train getting back at 3 O'clock just in time to fall in as the regiment was forming line to wade the Salkehatchie [sic. Salkiehatchie] which was about a mile and a half wide and the water was from 3 to 4 feet deep. The timber was so thick that we could not see 20 feet in any direction and many large trees that had fallen lay across our way and had to be climbed over. It must be remembered that the Salkahatchie is a small stream but at that time it was very high and the water covered the flat ground on each side of the stream. We were about two hours in crossing and the regiment formed line of battle as soon as they reached the opposite shore and Companies C and D were deployed as skirmishers. The regiment being the first troops across. We developed a line of rebel pickets but being very wet and cold we did not engage them. . . .

[The movement northward continued, with daily marches, the destroying of railroad, intermittent skirmishes, and the crossing of streams and rivers, the enemy putting up little real resistance. On February 16 Sherman's forces approached Columbia, which was practically defenseless, Beauregard having thought that Sherman would attack either Charleston or Augusta. After some desultory firing, Sherman entered the city on the morning of the 17th with the 15th Corps. The 17th Corps, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, did not enter Columbia, but passed to the right of it.]

On the 16th [of February] our regiment was rear guard and we did not get started until afternoon. We marched about 12 miles and halted for the night at 7 O'clock. We had a view of the City of Columbia during our march it being about 7 miles distant. We halted about 2 miles from the city on the bank of the Congaree river which ran between us and the City which was in full view. During the night the 15th corps passed to our left

reaching the Saluda river about 2 miles above. At Collumbia the Saluda and Broad rivers form a junction after which they take the name of Congaree. On the morning of the 17th we could see several white flags floating in the city and a squad of the 13th Iowa under the command of Collonel Kennedy [Justin C. Kennedy] crossed the Congaree in an old flat boat and placed the Colors of their regiment on the State house. The brigade fell in at 3 Oclock in the afternoon and marched to the Saluda river which we crossed on a pontoon bridge laid by the 15th corps and a march of 2 miles further brought us to the Broad river which was also crossed on a pontoon bridge. We camped near the city at 10 Oclock. During the day the wind was high and that night the city was on fire and the greater part was burned to the ground.<sup>53</sup> The Flag belonging to the 13th Iowa was taken from the State house by members of the 31st Iowa. . . .

[Fultz's account of the march through the Carolinas is factual and rather uninteresting, merely being an account of miles marched per day, rivers crossed, etc. Sherman was now moving toward Goldsborough, North Carolina. On March 6, while at Cheraw, South Carolina, he learned from a copy of a New York newspaper that Joseph E. Johnston had replaced Beauregard in command of the Confederate forces facing him. Sherman also found in this newspaper a story that he was heading for Goldsborough, a fact that he had hoped to keep secret from the enemy. Therefore, as the army approached Goldsborough in mid-March, it was met by small but determined resistance at Averysborough and Bentonville, the latter "battle" taking place on March 19 to 21.]

We were roused up at 3 Oclock on the morning of the 20th [of March] and a rapid march of 18 miles brought us to where the 4th corps was engaged with the rebels near Bentonville. We formed line of battle and companies A, C, and D were sent out as skirmishers and developed the rebel line of works on the opposite side of a large swamp through which the skirmishers made a charge driving the rebel pickets before them. The ground was covered with pine timber and with the exception of the swamp was clear of underbrush and was very open giving the rebels who were behind their works a fair view of our line. On the morning of the 21st the

<sup>53</sup> The burning of Columbia became a controversial issue, many blaming Sherman for it. According to Sherman's account, the fire started in bales of cotton which had been set on fire by the men of General Wade Hampton's troops before they left the city. High winds spread the fire during the nigght, and it soon was beyond control. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:286-7.

brigade advanced their line to the edge of the swamp and built breast works. Skirmishing was lively all day although it rained all afternoon and it continued to rain all night. . . . At daylight on the 22nd we discovered that the rebels had left during the night and the regiment went over and occupied their works untill 9 Oclock A M when we returned to our works.

. . .

On the 24th we started at daylight and reached Goldsboro at 9 Oclock having marched 6 miles.<sup>54</sup> The country between Bentonville and Goldsboro was level and covered with pine timber. During our march from Collumbia to Goldsboro we passed through several turpentine orchards. The pine trees being scored half way round and from 8 to 12 feet high taking off all the bark, so that the turpentine would ooze out and run down into a deep cut made into the tree near the ground for the purpose of catching it. Those trees stood about 15 or 20 feet apart and covered hundreds of acres on both sides of the road. A fire was started sometimes accidentally and sometimes on purpose and the entire forest would be ablase. The thick resinous smoke rose in dense clouds blinding the sight and choking the lungs. The horses and mules of the wagon train and artillery were sometimes so frightened that they were with difficulty forced to go through where the trees were on fire. At one time there had been several hundred barrels of pitch and turpentine stored near the road and was set on fire presumably by the rebels and it made so intense a heat and so dense a smoke that we were compelled to make a road to get around it. The sticky black smoke changed the complexion of the boys so that they looked somewhat like American citizens of African descent and they jokingly told one another that a white man was pretty near as good as a darkie anyhow. Considering the number of streams and swamps that we had to wade and the miles of burning turpentine orchards that we marched through we can well say that our route litterally lay through fire and water.

<sup>54</sup> Sherman wrote, in his account of the taking of Goldsborough: "Thus was concluded one of the longest and most important marches ever made by an organized army in a civilized country. The distance from Savannah to Goldsboro' is four hundred and twenty-five miles, and the route traversed embraced five large navigable rivers, viz., the Edisto, Broad, Catawba, Pedee, and Cape Fear, at either of which a comparatively small force, well handled, should have made the passage most difficult, if not impossible. . . . We had in mid-winter accomplished the whole journey . . . in fifty days, averaging ten miles per day, allowing ten lay-days, and had reached Goldsboro' with the army in superb order, and the trains almost as fresh as when we had started from Atlanta." *Ibid.*, 2:306-307.

On the afternoon of the 24th the 17th corps was reviewed by General Sherman.<sup>55</sup> On the 25th the first train of cars came into Goldsboro from Beauford N. C. [sic] . . . On the 26th the regiment went as escort to a forage train getting back at 5 O'clock in the evening and that day we got a large mail the first time since leaving Pocotaligo on the 29th of January. Nothing of note occurred except company inspection every evening by Capt. Kelley. . . .

On the 6th [of April] we received the news that Richmond was taken. . . . We packed up on the morning of the 10th of April having 6 days rations to carry and at half past 2 O'clock in the afternoon we started and marched about 8 miles and camped at 10 O'clock. We were in the rear and the wagon train delayed us a great deal, the roads being very bad. One place our brigade laid nearly a mile of corduroy carrying rails nearly half a mile for that purpose. On the 11th we started at 6 O'clock and the roads were very bad and we again laid a long string of corduroy. That day we marched about 12 miles and camped at 7 O'clock. On the morning of the 12th we started at 8 O'clock and the roads were the worst ever and we laid miles of corduroy. We would move about half a mile and then wait for the wagon train or else carry rails to corduroy the road. We went into camp at 7 O'clock having marched 5 miles in eleven hours. The brigade laid fully 4 miles of corduroy that day.<sup>56</sup> We started at 5 O'clock on the morning of the 13th and marched 20 miles camped at 6 O'clock. On the morning of the 14th we started at half past 7 O'clock our regiment being train guards. We crossed Neuse river at noon and reached Raleigh at sundown and marched three miles and a half west and camped at 8 O'clock having marched 20 miles.

The country from Goldsboro to Raleigh is rolling and well settled the

<sup>55</sup> While the army lay at Goldsborough, Sherman went to City Point, where he met with Grant and Lincoln to plan what proved to be the closing days of the war. Sherman was to begin his next move north on April 10. However, on April 6 he received the news of the fall of Richmond and Petersburg. Immediately changing his plans, which were to march on Petersburg, Sherman prepared to move on Johnston's army at Raleigh, N. C. On the night of April 11, however, he received further news from Grant: Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House on April 9. Sherman then moved into Raleigh and there received word from Johnston, asking for terms of surrender. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:322-46.

<sup>56</sup> According to Blair, the 17th Corps laid 70,863 yards of corduroy between Jan. 30 and Mar. 24, 1865. Of this, the 4th Division, of which the 11th Iowa was a part, laid 32,975 yards. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVII, Part I, 384.



timber being mostly pine. On the morning of the 15th we started at half past 6 O'clock marching to Carey Station a distance of five and a half miles where we camped at 9 O'clock. General Howard told us while on the march that day that it was our last days march after the enemy, General Johnston having agreed to surrender. . . .

On the 16th we were told that Generals Sherman and Johnston were trying to agree on terms of surrender and on the 17th we received the news of President Lincoln's assassination<sup>57</sup> and the sentiment universally expressed by the boys was that the Vice President had a hand in the murderous plot and that time would surely develop all the facts in regard to the matter.<sup>58</sup> But this feeling wore off as time passed and when we reached Washington 5 weeks later the subject was scarcely mentioned. But the sentiment even then showed that President Johnston [sic] did not wholly have the confidence of the army. The majority of the boys regarding him with suspicion. On the 18th we were told that Generals Sherman and Johnston had agreed on terms of surrender subject however to the approval of the authorities at Washington. . . .<sup>59</sup>

In the evening [of April 26] we received news of Johnston's surrender and there was a great deal of lively cheering. Each regiment as it received the news would send up a joyous shout which was echoed and reechoed by the boys until they made the woods ring with their joyous shouts. That evening we received orders to return to our camp near Raleigh on the next day. The war being now virtually over we were about to commence the

<sup>57</sup> Sherman received the news of Lincoln's assassination just as he was leaving to meet with Johnston on the morning of April 17. Fearing the effect of the news on the army, he kept it a secret until he had seen Johnston, told him the news, and agreed to meet him again on the following day. Sherman then returned to his army and told the troops of Lincoln's death. The following day, at Durham's Station, Sherman gave Johnston his terms for surrender. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:347-53.

<sup>58</sup> This is another instance of Fultz's reporting a later attitude toward Andrew Johnson as being current earlier. Hatred of Johnson, fired by the Radical Republicans, did not develop for about a year, reaching its climax in the impeachment trial in 1868. It is doubtful that the troops in 1865 had an opinion, one way or other, about Vice President Johnson.

<sup>59</sup> Sherman's terms to Johnston, which included certain civil matters with which he had no power to deal, were rejected by President Johnson. Grant himself brought the President's refusal to Sherman on April 24; Sherman accepted the rebuke and drew up new terms, approved by Grant, which Johnston signed on April 26. Secretary of War Stanton, however, could not let the matter rest there, but gave out letters to the press which infuriated Sherman, and a bitter feud developed. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:354-67.

homeward march having to use an expression of the boys come to the jumping off place and got the Johnnies into their last ditch.

On the morning of April 27 1865 we fell in and took up the line of march for Raleigh arriving at our old camp at 11 O'clock where we halted and remained until the morning of the 29th when we started for Richmond Va. For four long and weary years the war cry had been, On to Richmond. Now it was a positive assurance to the army under General Sherman that the white winged messenger of peace was once more hovering over the land. It meant a hope of soon seeing home and friends and laying aside the habiliments of war and returning to the peaceful pursuits of life. . . .

On the 9th [of May] we started at 3 O'clock in the morning and reached Manchester opposite Richmond at noon having marched 16 miles. We passed 3 lines of rebel breastworks that day. . . . We had made our bivouac on the banks of James river just opposite to the city of Richmond and there we first met with men who belonged to the army of the Potomac. They all wore white gloves and paper collars and long scarfs fluttered from their necks. This peacock style as our boys termed it was held in great contempt by Sherman's plainly dressed army. And many were their sharp comments on that kind of soft bread soldiering as they termed it. For a time those white gloved gentry would reply to the comments but they soon found out that they were no match in wit for the western boys.<sup>60</sup>

General Halleck was at that time in command at Richmond and issued an order that Sherman's army must review before him in Richmond. This order our boys took as an insult and declared that rather than review before General Halleck they would willingly march around the city and forego the pleasure of seeing it.<sup>61</sup> On the 10th a large crowd of us passed over the bridge into Richmond crowding the bridge guards off of the bridge by mere force of numbers. . . .

<sup>60</sup> Grant's Army of the Potomac and Sherman's Army of the Tennessee clashed seriously at Richmond. This was the result of Stanton's treatment of Sherman over the Johnston surrender, since the loyalty of Sherman's troops for "the old man" was almost fanatical.

<sup>61</sup> Northern newspapers, influenced by Stanton and the Radical Republicans, were full of attacks on Sherman. His men had seen the newspapers and were furious. Halleck, who had taken over the Army of the Potomac when Grant moved his headquarters to Washington, joined in the general attack on Sherman and therefore earned the hatred of the men of the Army of the Tennessee. When Halleck ordered Sherman's 14th Corps (not the whole army, as Fultz states) to parade before him at Richmond, Sherman refused to permit it. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:372-4; Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), 544-64.

[The two armies left Richmond and started north to Washington, reaching the outskirts of the city on May 20.]

On the 23rd [of May] we fell in line and marched through Alexandria and halted at noon on the bank of the Potomac river opposite Washington city. At half past 7 O'clock on the morning of the 24th we started crossing over the long bridge over the Potomac river when we formed by company into line and marched up Maryland avenue and formed for grand review on Pennsylvania avenue. The regiment being consolidated into 8 companies whose length just reached across the avenue from one curbstone to the other. And thus we passed in review before the President of the United States and General Grant and the representatives of almost all foreign nations.<sup>62</sup> . . .

[The 11th Iowa remained at Washington until June 7, when they were sent by train and steamboat to Louisville, arriving there on June 12. They were mustered out of the service on July 15, 1865.]

<sup>62</sup> For a colorful description of the "Grand Review," see Lewis, *Sherman*, 572-7.

## HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### *State Historical Society of Iowa*

During October, November, and December, 1956, the Society added 195 new members. Total membership at the end of the year was 5,294.

In October the Society published Leland L. Sage's *William Boyd Allison: A Study in Practical Politics*. Dr. Sage's biography is the first full-length treatment of Iowa's famous Senator. Allison, who served Iowa in the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1871, and in the Senate from 1873 until his death in 1908 (one of the longest terms on record), was an outstanding figure in local and national politics. All members of the Society have received a copy of the book. Others may purchase it from the Society for \$6.50.

During the past four months Superintendent William J. Petersen has spent every spare moment soliciting funds for the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building, concentrating on Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, Dubuque, Muscatine, and Keokuk.

Dr. Mildred Throne, associate editor of the Society, has been elected to the executive committee of the Agricultural History Society. She has also served during the past two years on the nominating committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

#### SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| October 6-7  | Attended annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, where he served as regional chairman for the Committee on National Awards. |
| November 4-5 | Attended Operation T-Bone with Audubon County farmers and businessmen at Chicago Stockyards, and visited with Pat Dolan.   |
| December 2   | Attended the unveiling of the portrait of George Davenport at the Davenport Municipal Art Gallery.   |



*Iowa Historical Activities*

Formal organization of the Iowa Society for the Preservation of Historical Landmarks took place in Des Moines on October 8, 1956. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. M. Hoffman of Dyersville was elected president; Dr. Leonard Wolf, head of the division of architecture of Iowa State College, vice-president; and William J. Wagner, Des Moines architect, secretary-treasurer. Members of the board of directors are Charles B. Chappell, Keokuk; Mrs. Carroll R. Mitchell, Grundy Center; Mrs. Leo A. Hoegh, Chariton; Simpson Smith, Des Moines; Mrs. Otha Wearin, Hastings; E. C. Wissler, Boone; and Nora Marie Harker, Storm Lake. Membership in the society is \$2.50 for adults, \$1.00 for students.

The Lee County Historical Society was organized at Keokuk on November 28, 1956. Al Weber was elected president; Charles Chappell, vice-president; and Miss Doris Foley, secretary-treasurer.

The Thomas Mitchell Historical Society, at its meeting on October 16, 1956, elected Asa Lee as president; Mrs. Max Woods, vice-president; and Mrs. Clarence Pearson, secretary-treasurer.

Officers elected at the December 4, 1956, meeting of the Chickasaw County Historical Society were Mrs. Earl Edson, president; Miss Mildred Bigelow, vice-president; Mrs. Glen Young, treasurer; and Rev. Glenn L. Utterback, secretary.

Ira Nichols of Iowa Falls has just published a *History of Iowa Falls, 1900-1950*, a companion volume to his *Pioneer Days in Iowa Falls*, which he published in 1944. Copies of the new book may be obtained from the Hecht Printing Company of Iowa Falls for \$3.75.

Hudson, in Black Hawk County, will celebrate its centennial June 26-27, 1957. Miss Frances Watters is chairman of the centennial historical committee.

## HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

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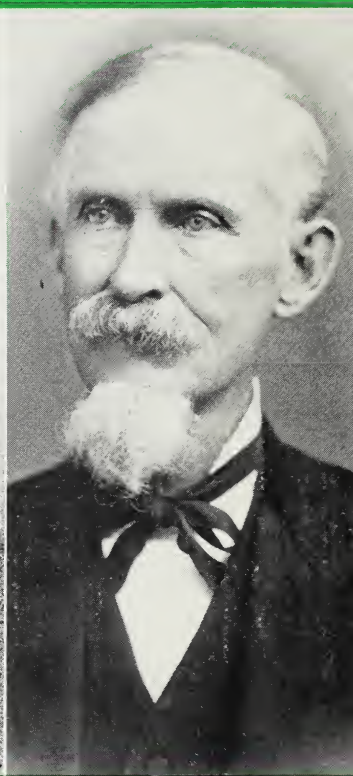
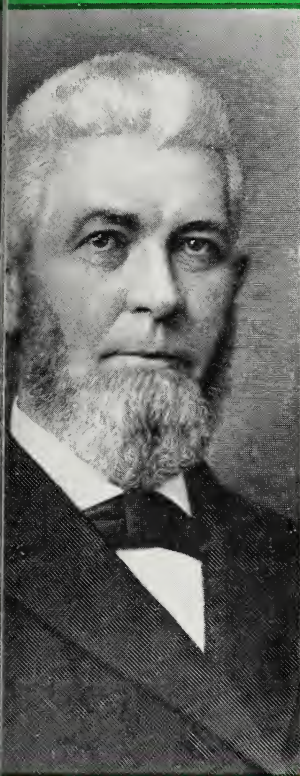
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## COVER

Three members of the 1857 Constitutional Convention. From left to right: James F. Wilson, Republican of Jefferson County; Aylett R. Cotton, Democrat of Clinton County; and Francis Springer, Republican of Louisa County. Springer served as president of the convention.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IOWA CONSTITUTION OF 1857

*By Russell M. Ross\**

There has never been an ideal state constitution in America, and perhaps there never will be. Certainly no constitution would be uniformly ideal for all the forty-eight states. . . . Montesquieu was right when he averred that the best constitution is the one that best suits the genius and the traditions of the people who live under it.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Munro's statement is undoubtedly true, but nevertheless many of the states in the United States, and Iowa in particular, have been extremely reluctant to discard their venerable state constitutions.

Iowa's "new" supreme law, which will be one hundred years old on August 3, 1957, is one of the oldest among the forty-eight. Only nine other states have constitutions that have been used continuously for one hundred years or more. As might be expected, six of the nine are New England states with great pride in the antiquity of their supreme documents: Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The constitutions of Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana complete the list of documents more than a century old.

Iowa's constitution is the tenth document in effect for more than one hundred years. Likewise, ten of the states have adopted their present supreme law since the beginning of the twentieth century. However, only three new documents have taken effect since World War II: Georgia, Missouri, and, the newest of all, New Jersey (1948).

Virtually every state constitution in effect prior to the Civil War confined itself to the statement of fundamental principles. As a direct result, the documents effective for more than one hundred years are all considerably shorter than the ten twentieth century documents. Iowa's Constitution of 1857 has an estimated 8,000 words. Only the constitutions of Connecti-

\*Russell M. Ross is associate professor of political science at the State University of Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> William B. Munro, "An Ideal State Constitution," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 181:1 (September, 1935).

cut (6,741), Indiana (7,816), Rhode Island (6,500) and Vermont (5,759) are shorter than Iowa's. These are in direct contrast with the modern constitutions of Louisiana with its 184,000 words, the 72,000-word California constitution, and even the Missouri document of some 30,000 words. The recent constitutions are of such great length because virtually every one of them includes detailed provisions on an ever-increasing number of legislative and administrative subjects.

This verbosity is also attributed to the steadily diminishing confidence the people and the writers of constitutions have in legislative bodies. Likewise, the constantly increasing complexity of state governmental functions contributes to longer documents. Similarly, the trend toward imposition of constitutional restrictions upon both legislative and administrative officials brings about greater length in the state constitutions. The inclusion of a multitude of detailed prescriptions in the state constitutions has also resulted in a large number of amendments. The present constitutions of California and Louisiana have both been amended more than 300 times, with the California document approaching its 400th amendment. The constitutions of New York, South Carolina, and Texas have each been amended more than 100 times; Oregon, New Hampshire, Alabama, and Florida citizens have amended their constitutions more than 90 times.

In fact, only seven of the state constitutions have had fewer than the 20 amendments added to the 100-year-old Iowa document. The seven with fewer additions are: Illinois (8), Indiana (18), Tennessee (8), Missouri (4), Wyoming (13), New Jersey (0), and Georgia (18). Of these, only the Indiana constitution predates the Iowa supreme law.

#### IOWA'S CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The success of the Iowa Constitution of 1857 may in no small part be due to the constitutional history of the country of Iowa. No less than five territorial constitutions were used as the supreme law of the land included in the present state of Iowa. All of these made material contributions to the ultimate framing of the existing state constitution.

#### *Effective Dates of Constitutions Governing Iowa*

1805 — Louisiana Territorial Constitution

1812 — Missouri Territorial Constitution

1821-1834 — No Civil Government in the Iowa Country

1834 — Iowa Country under Michigan Territorial Constitution

## EFFECTIVE DATES OF PRESENT STATE CONSTITUTIONS\*

*Prior to 1850:*

Massachusetts — 1780

New Hampshire — 1784

Vermont — 1793

Connecticut — 1818

Maine — 1820

Rhode Island — 1843

Wisconsin — 1848

*1850-1874:*

Ohio — 1851

Indiana — 1851

Iowa — 1857

Minnesota — 1858

Oregon — 1859

Kansas — 1861

Nevada — 1864

Maryland — 1867

Illinois — 1870

Tennessee — 1870

West Virginia — 1872

Arkansas — 1874

Pennsylvania — 1874

*1875-1899:*

Nebraska — 1875

Colorado — 1876

North Carolina — 1876

Texas — 1876

California — 1879

Florida — 1887

Montana — 1889

North Dakota — 1889

South Dakota — 1889

Washington — 1889

Wyoming — 1889

Idaho — 1890

Mississippi — 1890

Kentucky — 1891

New York — 1894

South Carolina — 1895

Utah — 1896

Delaware — 1897

*1900-1957:*

Alabama — 1901

Virginia — 1902

Oklahoma — 1907

Michigan — 1909

Arizona — 1912

New Mexico — 1912

Louisiana — 1921

Missouri — 1945

Georgia — 1945

New Jersey — 1948

\**The Book of the States, 1954-1955* (Chicago, 1954), 68-73.



1836 — Wisconsin Territorial Constitution

1838 — July 4, Iowa Territorial Constitution

1846 — December 28, First State Constitution, Effective upon Admission to Statehood

1857 — August 3, Present State Constitution, Approved by Popular Vote.

It has been said that "Iowa was born in anarchy."<sup>2</sup> This is only true in a limited sense. Certainly at the time of the first settlement in 1833, the Iowa country was not under a specific territorial constitution, but there was precedent for law and order even though no formal supreme law may have been technically in existence when the pioneer settlers staked their first land claims.

It is not necessary to go any further into the constitutional development of the state than the original Iowa Territorial Constitution of 1838, as it embodied much of the traditional territorial documents that preceded its proclamation.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE IOWA TERRITORY<sup>3</sup>

On July 4, 1838, President Martin Van Buren approved the formation of the Territory of Iowa. The constitution, ordained by Congress and imposed upon the people, was copied almost entirely from the supreme document of Wisconsin Territory. Robert Lucas, the Governor of the Territory appointed by the President, was the central figure of government. In addition to being the chief magistrate, who appointed all inferior judicial and peace officers, he was commander-in-chief of the militia and virtually a constituted branch of the legislature with the power of absolute veto. The legislature was bicameral, being popularly elected and authorized to make laws on "all rightful subjects of legislation." A supreme court, with a chief justice and two associate justices, administered the law in the Territory. The primary differences between the organic act of the Wisconsin Territory and the Iowa Territorial Constitution were that in the Iowa document all officials served shorter terms and received lower salaries.

In April of 1844, after having defeated a similar proposal in August of 1843, the people of the Territory voted with a large majority in favor of

<sup>2</sup> John E. Briggs, "A History of the Constitution of Iowa," *Iowa Code Annotated* (29 vols., St. Paul, Minn., 1949), 1:1.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Materials Relating to the History of Iowa* (3 vols., Iowa City, 1897-1901), 1:102-116.

forming a state government. As a result, the first state constitutional convention met in the territorial capital at Iowa City on October 7, 1844. In twenty-six days this group of seventy-three delegates wrote the Iowa Constitution of 1844.<sup>4</sup> The constitution prohibited slavery, kept public officials' salaries low and their terms of office short, and regarded banks as a public menace. The boundaries of the state as set forth in the constitution were rejected by Congress, however, and new boundaries established reducing the size of the proposed state.<sup>5</sup> As a result of this geographic curtailment, the electorate of the Territory voted to reject the Constitution of 1844.

A second attempt at writing a state constitution for Iowa began in May of 1846. The thirty-two delegates completed the task in just fourteen working days. The new organic law included a compromise northern boundary established on the parallel of 43° 30' and extending from the Mississippi River to the Big Sioux River. The Constitution of 1846 was even a little shorter than the Constitution of 1844. The 10 Whigs and 22 Democrats, averaging only thirty-seven years of age, included thirteen articles in the new constitution. The Bill of Rights, stating the philosophy of democratic government and the essential rights of free men, was practically unchanged from the older version. The article providing for the executive department did not include a Lieutenant Governor but did give the Governor a four-year term of office.

The territorial legislature submitted the Constitution of 1846 to a vote of the people on August 3. It was ratified by a majority of only 456 out of a total vote of 18,528. Meanwhile, Congress had accepted the 1846 Constitution on August 1, and the bill was approved by the President on August 4, 1846. The first state officers were elected on October 26, and the first General Assembly of the State of Iowa convened on November 30, 1846. The first Governor, Ansel Briggs, took the oath of office on December 3, 1846. However, the bill for the admission of Iowa into the Union was not passed by the House until December 21, with the Senate concurring on December 24. Iowa became officially the twenty-ninth state of the Union on December 28, 1846, when President James K. Polk signed the admission bill.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846* (Iowa City, 1900), 7-313.

<sup>5</sup> Benj. F. Shambaugh, "Maps Illustrative of the Boundary History of Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 2:369-80 (July, 1904).

Dissatisfaction with the Constitution of 1846 soon arose. The agitation for revision stemmed primarily from the acknowledged need for authorizing the establishment of banks. As a direct result of the nonexistence of banks within the state, Iowa was flooded with depreciated paper currency from other states. Gold and silver were scarce, and what did exist was usually hoarded either to pay taxes or to buy public land from the federal government. The need for other changes also became apparent. However, the amending process was rigid and difficult, and changes were almost impossible. As a result, the General Assembly in August, 1856, submitted to a vote of the people the question of calling a convention to revise the constitution. The proposition was approved, and thirty-five delegates were elected in November to meet on January 19, 1857, to revise the state constitution. Twenty-one were members of the new Republican party, while fourteen were Democrats. Fourteen were lawyers; twelve, farmers.

#### IOWA'S PRESENT CONSTITUTION

This third constitutional convention completed its work in thirty-nine days, adjourning on March 5, 1857.<sup>6</sup> While the new constitution was more complete, it was primarily a revision of the 1846 document, and both were patterned after the first proposed organic law of 1844. The new constitution included only 12 articles, 176 sections, and approximately 8,000 words. When submitted to the people of Iowa at a special election on August 3, 1857, it was approved by a majority of only 1,630 votes out of a total vote of 79,000. It went into effect by proclamation of the Governor on September 3, 1857, and it is still the supreme law of the state of Iowa.

The content of the constitution is effectively outlined by the article headings: (1) Bill of Rights; (2) Right of Suffrage; (3) Distribution of Powers; (4) Executive Department; (5) Judicial Department; (6) Militia; (7) State Debts; (8) Corporations; (9) Education and School Laws; (10) Amending the Constitution; (11) Miscellaneous; (12) Schedule.

In the following pages a brief analysis of the present constitution is made, with the amendments considered in chronological sequence.

(1) Bill of Rights: In the original 25 sections included under this article there are several items of vital importance to all Iowans. Section 4 declares that the testimony of any person, "not disqualified on account of interest," may be taken and used in any judicial proceeding. Section 6 provides that

<sup>6</sup> "The Constitutional Convention of 1857," *Iowa Historical Record*, 12:481-92 (July, 1896); "Constitution of the State of Iowa," *Iowa Code Annotated*, Vol 1.

the General Assembly shall not grant any special immunities or privileges to any one class of citizens. Section 9 gives the classical declaration of the United States Constitution that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Section 10 extends the right of the accused to a trial by jury not only in all criminal prosecutions but also "in cases involving the life, or liberty of an individual." Section 11 authorizes trial of all misdemeanors in a justice of the peace court without grand jury indictment and sets the limits of jurisdiction as a fine of \$100 or imprisonment for thirty days. Section 13 guarantees the writ of habeas corpus, while section 16 defines treason in the words used in the United States Constitution. Section 17 protects the individual from excessive bail and fines in the state courts. Section 18 establishes the right of eminent domain, and section 21 forbids the state legislature from enacting any bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, or laws impairing the obligations of contracts. Section 23 forbids slavery, and section 24 establishes a twenty-year limit on the validity of leases on agricultural lands. One amendment to Article I, adopted in 1880 and re-adopted in 1882, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Iowa in the case of *Koehler & Lange v. Hill*,<sup>7</sup> because the Court held that the amendment had not been legally submitted to the voters and therefore was never actually a part of the constitution. The entire Bill of Rights is virtually a verbatim copy of the original state constitution and was used in the *Model State Constitution* first written in 1921 by the National Municipal League.

(2) Right of Suffrage: While this article originally allowed only white male citizens to vote, an amendment was enacted in 1868 which struck out the word "white." The word "male" remains in the section, although it was rendered inoperative by the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, adopted in 1920. The sections in this Article establish residence requirements and the policy of the state pertaining to causes of ineligibility of electors.<sup>8</sup> Dates for the general elections for state, district, county, and township officers, established in section 7, have since been amended in 1884 and 1916 to establish election day on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November. Like Article I, this Article, before amendment, was taken word for word from the 1846 constitution.

<sup>7</sup> 60 *Iowa Reports*, 543.

<sup>8</sup> Carl H. Erbe, "Constitutional Provisions for Suffrage in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:163-217 (July, 1924).



(3) The Distribution of Powers. Legislative Department: The bicameral organization is retained from the original supreme law. The qualifications of members are set, and the terms of office and biennial sessions are established. The maximum number of senators is set at 50, and the representatives were originally limited to 100. However, an amendment of 1904 increased the number of representatives to a maximum of 108. Section 17 of Article II requires the assent of a majority of all members of each chamber before a bill is considered passed. In the section on legislative powers are sections dealing with compensation restrictions of legislative members and other restrictions upon the composition of congressional, senatorial, and representative districts. An effort is made in section 37 to restrain gerrymandering by providing that all districts must be contiguous and that counties cannot be divided in the formation of electoral districts. The scope of legislative authority, for the most part relatively unrestricted by the Article, contributes greatly to the durability of the 1857 constitution. Four sections were added to the Article on the legislative department in the Constitution of 1857 that had not been included in the original state constitution. All four dealt with some aspect of the number of representatives and senators and the years in which the legislature must convene.<sup>9</sup>

(4) Executive Department: The 22nd Section in Article IV outlines the essential structure of the executive and administrative departments. The greater part, however, has been erected by statute law. The Constitution of 1857 establishes the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, and Attorney General. The term of office for all these officers is set at two years and their salaries are left to legislative determination. Outlined very briefly in this Article are the prime powers and duties of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor.<sup>10</sup>

All of the four section additions to the 1846 Constitution made by the framers of the 1857 Constitution concerned the creation of the position of Lieutenant Governor, which was not in the original Iowa constitution, and the new succession to the position of chief executive. This was in effect a demotion of the Secretary of State, as he had been the number two man under the Constitution of 1846.

<sup>9</sup> Russell M. Ross, "The Iowa General Assembly: Composition and Powers," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:31-56 (January, 1955).

<sup>10</sup> Russell M. Ross, "The Powers of the Governor of Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:97-140 (April, 1954).

(5) Judicial Department: Section one establishes a supreme court and an unlimited number of district courts. The state legislature is empowered to establish other courts inferior to the Supreme Court, as it deems necessary. The popular election of judges is required. The term of office of the judges of the State Supreme Court is set at six years, while district judges serve for four-year terms. According to this Article, judicial salaries are determined by the General Assembly. Amendments to Article V made in 1884 have given the state legislature extensive power over the reorganization of judicial districts. In this same series of amendments, the office of district attorney was abolished and a county attorney post created in each of the ninety-nine counties of the state. A third constitutional amendment passed in 1884 established the size of grand juries but granted the General Assembly the power to suspend their usage during emergency periods. This article differed in detail but not in principal outline from the earlier constitution.

(6) Militia: In three brief sections provision is made for a state militia and officers, to be armed, equipped, and trained as the state legislature sees necessary. Certain exemptions from military service are provided for persons conscientiously opposed to bearing arms. Not a single comma was added or deleted by the 1857 constitutional convention.

(7) State Debts: The seven sections devoted to the responsibilities of the state in connection with debts allow the issuance of bonds for no longer than twenty years and only when authorized by a majority vote of electors voting on the question. This Article also includes a list of the reasons for which the state may contract a debt.<sup>11</sup>

(8) Corporations: It was this Article that gave the greatest impetus to the writing of the 1857 Constitution. The 1846 document had expressly forbidden the incorporation or charter of any banks or the issuance or putting into circulation of anything to serve as money. Section one gives the General Assembly the power to create corporations only by general laws. All property of corporations is subject to tax, with no exemptions to be granted. Sections 3 and 4 forbid the state government and municipal governments from becoming stockholders in any corporation. Section 5 provides that any acts creating corporations or associations with banking powers must be approved by a majority of the electors voting on the issue.

<sup>11</sup> Carl H. Erbe, "Constitutional Limitations on Indebtedness in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:323-63 (July, 1924).

The other sections, dealing with the creation of a state bank, provide for a general banking law, stockholders' responsibilities, and amendment or repeal of charters and exclusive privileges.

(9) Education and School Lands: Article IX is divided into two parts; the first dealing with education in general terms. The first ten sections of this part deal with the substitution of a Board of Education for the Superintendent of Public Instruction. However, the state legislature was invited to abolish the Board at any time after 1863. As a result, the General Assembly acted in 1864 to abolish the Board of Education. The sections still remain in the constitution but are inoperative. The office of Superintendent of Public Instruction was re-established by statute in 1864.

The second part of Article IX is devoted to school funds and school lands. The General Assembly is granted control and management of educational and school funds and lands. Certain restrictions are made regarding school funds and school lands, but for the most part the state legislature is left unhampered in this area.

(10) Amendments to the Constitution: The framers of the Constitution of 1857 had no sanctimonious belief that the document was perfect and would never need to be changed.<sup>12</sup> However, they also proved by the amending process provided that they did not have complete trust in future General Assemblies. An amendment to the constitution may be introduced in either house of the legislature, and it must receive a majority vote of each house in two successive General Assemblies and be ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon at a state election. It is important to note that the vote required for ratification is a majority of the electors voting on the issues and not a majority of the total vote in the election, since usually the constitutional amendments are voted on in the general election, and not all of the voters take the time to vote on the amendments to be ratified. The entire amending procedure is calculated to prevent hasty, trivial, and unpopular modification of the fundamental law.

The Article on amendments also empowers the General Assembly to submit the question of calling a constitutional convention to the voters at any time.<sup>13</sup> Since the framers apparently feared the legislature might ne-

<sup>12</sup> Carl H. Erbe, "Amendment of the Iowa Constitution," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 23:103-138 (January, 1925).

<sup>13</sup> John F. Sly, "Providing for a State Constitutional Convention," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 19:3-43 (January, 1921).

glect this opportunity, it provides that it shall be the duty of the legislature to allow the voters at the general election held in the years ending with zero to vote on the question, "Shall there be a convention to revise the Constitution, and amend the same?" The provision is a relic of the natural rights philosophy of the eighteenth century embodied in the Declaration of Independence and reiterated in state bills of rights. The General Assembly has never exercised its prerogative of proposing the question of calling a revision convention, and on only one occasion have the electors requested such a convention. In the election of 1920 a majority of 57,889 of the 501,515 votes cast favored a convention. However, the General Assembly adjourned in the following year without calling a state constitutional convention. Thus the judgment of the legislature was substituted for the will of the people. No popular rebuke was given the legislators, and in the 1930 election the question of calling a constitutional convention was rejected by a majority of 54,689. The largest negative majority on the question ever polled — 152,895 — was cast in the 1940 election.

This dual system of amending the constitution was in direct contrast to the provision of the 1846 Constitution, which provided that the only way in which that might be used for changing the constitution was by holding a constitutional convention. A convention could be held only if the General Assembly determined that the question of whether or not a convention was needed should be put to a popular vote of the people; then if a majority favored the convening of a state constitutional convention, a second election for naming delegates would be held. It should be noted that this occurred only once under the Constitution of 1846 and resulted in the drafting of a new constitution rather than merely amending the existing document. This cumbersome method of changing the 1846 Constitution was a major factor in the drafting of the present Iowa constitution.

(11) Miscellaneous: The eight sections in this Article deal with a variety of subjects. Included are rules regarding the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, the geographic size of counties, a 5 per cent debt limitation on county and municipal governments, the boundaries of the state, and the oath of office required for all elective and appointive offices. Also included are the regulations regarding the filling of vacancies and the location of land grants. The final section of this Article establishes the state capital in Des Moines, and the State University at Iowa City.

(12) Schedule: After proclaiming the Constitution of 1857 the supreme



law of the state and ordering the General Assembly to pass all laws necessary to carry it into effect, the Article deals with an even greater variety of subjects than the preceding one. It includes sections pertaining to the repeal of all laws inconsistent with the new constitution, fines inuring to the state, the keeping of bonds in force, the first election for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and other elective officers, and other instructions necessary to execute the new constitution.

(13) Amendments made to the Constitution of 1857:<sup>14</sup> The first five amendments were proposed to give the Negro in Iowa the national status of the Negro race following the Civil War. These five were proposed by the General Assembly in 1866, endorsed by the 1868 General Assembly, and approved by the voters in November, 1868. The word "white" was struck out of the Iowa constitution. The effect was to give Negro men the right to vote, to serve in the militia, and to be counted in the apportioning of representatives in the state legislature. It was assumed that Negro men would be eligible for any public office except membership in the legislature. Even this limited disqualification was removed in 1880, when the people ratified the sixth amendment striking the words "free white" from section 4 of Article III.

Another group of four amendments was proposed by the Nineteenth General Assembly in 1882, readopted by the Twentieth in 1884, and confirmed by large majorities in the November election of 1884. Three of the four pertained to the judicial branch of the government, which had been the subject of much controversy in the state convention. The power of the General Assembly to reorganize judicial districts according to the growth of the state was limited by the constitution to not more than "one District, or one Judge of either Court, at any one session." This restriction was eliminated by authorizing the General Assembly at any regular session to divide the state into the "necessary Judicial Districts for District Court purposes," and increasing or decreasing the number of districts and judges.

The Constitution of 1857 empowers the General Assembly to provide a "general system of practice" in the state courts, but the Bill of Rights prescribed that persons could be held for criminal offenses only "on presentment or indictment by a grand jury." In order to facilitate prosecution,

<sup>14</sup> David C. Mott, "Amendments to the Constitution of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 14:204-214 (January, 1924); Erbe, "Amendment of the Iowa Constitution," 103-137.

a sentence was added in 1884 to section 14 of Article V explaining that the "grand jury may consist of any number of members not less than five or more than fifteen, as the General Assembly may by law provide, or the General Assembly may provide for holding persons to answer for any criminal offense without the intervention of a grand jury." This amendment was ratified by the largest majority of any of the changes in the judicial system, although all of these amendments were approved by a ratio of about two to one.

Because of the increase in population, one prosecuting attorney for each judicial district, as provided in the constitution, was believed to be inadequate, and in 1884 section 13 of Article V was rewritten to abolish the office of district attorney and to create the office of county attorney. The term was changed from four to two years, with popular election retained.

The fourth of the four amendments adopted in 1884 fixed the date of the general election for state and local officials "on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November." This coincides with the day on which presidential electors are chosen. Until 1884 members of the legislature and other state officers had been elected on this date in presidential election years but on the second Tuesday in October in other years.

Almost from the beginning of the territorial government, annual elections prevailed in Iowa, with only about half the state and local officials elected at one time. A resolution to provide for biennial elections was adopted by the General Assembly in 1898, re-enacted by the next General Assembly, and approved by the people in 1900. In order to accomplish the transition, the tenure of officials whose terms were to expire in 1901 was extended one year. As might be expected, disputes arose which led to judicial intervention. Smith W. Brookhart, county attorney in Washington County, refused to surrender his office in January, 1901, under the terms of the amendment, to Marsh W. Bailey who had been elected in 1900. Bailey won the case in the district court, and that decision was sustained by the Supreme Court.

The desire for biennial elections was not to be halted. A similar amendment was adopted by the General Assemblies of 1902 and 1904 and ratified in the general election of 1904. It provided that the general elections should be held in even-numbered years beginning in 1906. It also changed the regular sessions of the General Assembly from even to odd-numbered

years beginning in 1907. Again, the transition was accomplished by extending the terms of incumbent officials one year.

Tuesday elections were unpopular with many people in the state. A movement was started in Iowa to have the general elections changed to Monday. The first step in this movement occurred when Iowa repealed the amendment of 1884 and substituted another in 1916 empowering the General Assembly to change the date of the general election after 1916 to "such time as the General Assembly may by law provide." This authority has never been exercised. The enactment of the absent-voters law in 1915, whereby persons away from home on election day could vote by mail, satisfied the traveling men and others who opposed Tuesday elections.

An amendment adopted in 1904 repealed three sections of the constitution relating to the size and apportionment of the General Assembly. The new section 34 of Article III limited the Senate to 50 members to be "apportioned among the several counties or districts of the State, according to population as shown by the last preceding census." Section 35 as amended established 108 as the maximum number of Representatives, the ratio of representation being determined "by dividing the whole number of population of the state as shown by the last preceding state or national census, by the whole number of counties then existing or organized," except that each county shall have at least one Representative. Each of the nine largest counties, if their population exceeds the ratio number by three-fifths or more, is entitled to one additional Representative.

Section 36 of Article III of the 1857 Constitution, as amended in 1904, required that the General Assembly in 1906, and "at each succeeding regular session held next after" a state or federal census, should "fix the ratio of representation, and apportion the additional representatives."

After the beginning of the twentieth century, when improved drainage of the rich, level land of north-central Iowa had become an economic necessity, a general demand arose for the removal of legal impediments to the construction of drainage ditches. The General Assemblies of 1906 and 1907, with but a single dissenting vote, adopted an amendment to section 18 of the Bill of Rights authorizing the General Assembly to pass laws "permitting the owners of lands to construct drains, ditches, and levees for agricultural, sanitary or mining purposes across the lands of others, and provide for the organization of drainage districts," and to finance such projects "by special assessments upon the property benefited thereby."

The right of eminent domain was granted to condemn "such real estate as shall be necessary for the construction and maintenance of such drains, ditches, and levees." The voters ratified this amendment in 1908.

The next addition to the constitution occurred in 1919 when a joint resolution declaring that the "right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" was passed by Congress and submitted to the states for ratification. Both Iowa Senators and all Representatives except one voted for the resolution. Governor William L. Harding called a special session of the Iowa legislature for July 2, 1919, to consider ratification. The vote in the Senate was unanimous, while in the House only five members dissented, and as a result Iowa became the tenth state to ratify national woman suffrage. The Nineteenth Amendment, proclaimed on August 20, 1920, as part of the supreme law of the land, thus modified the restriction in the Iowa constitution that only men may vote. The word "male" has not been removed from section one of Article II on suffrage, but it is no longer operative.

Women were thus entitled to vote and were, therefore, eligible to hold any public office except membership in the representative branch of the government, since the Iowa constitution specifically listed male sex as a qualification of members of the General Assembly. With this discrepancy in mind, Governor Nathan E. Kendall in 1923 urged the legislature to remove from the constitution and statutes "every discrimination there existing against the enjoyment by women of every prerogative now exercised by men." In response, the General Assembly proposed to amend section 4 of Article III by striking out the word "male." This resolution was also adopted by the 1925 General Assembly and approved by the voters in 1926.

In order to maintain the territorial integrity of the county as an area for representative and electoral purposes, the 1857 Constitution prohibited the division of a county "in forming a congressional, senatorial, or representative district." There was, however, nothing to prevent the apportionment of two or more state senators to a single county. On the basis of population some of the larger counties, such as Polk and Woodbury, have been under-represented in the General Assembly. To forestall the possibility of increasing the strength of the populous centers in the Senate, a joint resolution adding to section 34 of Article III the guarantee that "no county shall be entitled to more than one senator" was adopted in 1925, passed



by the General Assembly of 1927, and ratified by the voters in 1928.

During the economic depression of the thirties, when the legislature sought to economize in public expenditures, section 33 of Article III, which required a state census at ten-year intervals for the purpose of apportioning members of the legislature, was repealed. The amendment was first passed by the General Assembly in 1933, readopted in 1935, and ratified at the general election in 1936.

The eighteenth amendment to the Iowa constitution was adopted in 1942. To Article VII on state debts was added section 8, whereby "All motor vehicle registration fees and all licenses and excise taxes on motor vehicle fuel, except cost of administration, shall be used exclusively for the construction, maintenance and supervision of the public highways exclusively within the state, or for the payment of bonds issued for the construction of such public highways and the payment of interest on such bonds." This limitation of the use of revenue derived from motor traffic for the sole purpose of highway construction and maintenance, as had previously been required by statute, appears to have been designed to protect this source of income against demands for funds to support other governmental services less clearly associated with the benefits derived by motor users. It may also have the effect of enabling the state to borrow directly for highway improvement by imposing and providing for "a direct annual tax" to be used exclusively for the object designated in the statute authorizing the loan, as required in section 5 of the same article. The amendment was adopted by the General Assemblies in 1939 and 1941 and approved by the voters in 1942.

The legislature in 1947 passed a joint resolution to provide a method of succession to the office of Governor in contingencies not previously contemplated. In case of "death, resignation, failure to qualify, inability to qualify, or other disability of the candidate for Governor who received the largest number of votes at the last general election," the duties of Governor shall devolve upon the successful candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Perhaps with the atomic age in mind, the proposed amendment also declares that if the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, president pro tem of the Senate, and Speaker of the House (which is the order of succession prescribed in the constitution) should all by reason of death, resignation, or any other cause be incapable of filling the office of Governor, the Executive Council "shall immediately convene the General Assembly by proclamation, and

the General Assembly shall immediately elect" incumbents to all those offices to serve "until their successors are elected and qualified." This proposal was nullified, however, by the failure of the Secretary of State to publish it "for three months previous" to the election of members of the next General Assembly to whom the proposed amendment was referred. It was passed again by the Fifty-third General Assembly in 1949 and by the Fifty-fourth in 1951, was approved by a majority of the voters in the 1952 general election, and certified on December 8, 1952. This second measure contained a revision of the original in that the Supreme Court, instead of the Executive Council, is given the power to call the legislature into session.

Only six amendments to the Constitution of 1857 that have been adopted by the legislature have failed to become part of the organic law of Iowa because of defective procedure or failure to be ratified by the voters. In no instance, however, has the object sought by an amendment failed to be achieved. Errors in the process of amendment have been inadvertent, but popular opposition to the extension of democracy has been emphatically expressed on one occasion and against a moral reform on another.

After the first referendum on a change in the constitution resulted in the overwhelming repudiation of political equality for Negroes at the time the constitution was adopted, every amendment submitted to the people was ratified until equal suffrage for women was defeated in the primary election in 1916. The proposal to remove the word "male" from the qualifications of voters was approved by the General Assemblies in 1913 and 1915, but repudiated by the male voters, 173,024 to 162,683. While the negative majority was not as large as that polled against Negro suffrage in 1857, the women had to wait only four years before their right to vote was obtained by national amendment, whereas Negro suffrage was legalized by an Iowa constitutional amendment in eleven years and by the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution two years later in 1870.

The second defeat of an amendment submitted by the legislature to the people occurred in 1917. The liquor traffic had dried up in most parts of Iowa by the beginning of the first World War. In the hope of permanent and complete suppression, the General Assembly in 1915 proposed that the "manufacture, sale, or keeping for sale, as a beverage, of intoxicating liquors, including ale, wine, and beer, shall be forever prohibited within this state." This resolution was passed by the Assembly in 1917. But in the special election in October of that year, 214,693 votes were cast for the

amendment, and 215,625 against it, and so it was defeated by 932 votes — the narrowest margin of any amendment in the largest vote ever polled up to that time on an amendment. Two months later the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was adopted, and in January, 1919, national prohibition was proclaimed.

The first organized opposition to the sale of liquor in Iowa began with the passage of a prohibition amendment to the Iowa constitution by the General Assembly in 1880 and 1882, which was approved by a special election on June 27, 1882. However, the courts, in the case of *Koehler & Lange v. Hill*,<sup>15</sup> declared the amendment null and void because the amendment passed by the Senate was not identical to the one passed by the House.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, the courts declared the amendment that would have provided for biennial elections null and void because of a technicality involved in the passage of the amendment. The legislature and voters were determined to have the constitution changed, and they repassed the amendment in proper form.

Errors on the part of the Secretary of State in publication of the amendments have on two occasions nullified the will of the state legislators. In 1917 and 1947 the Secretary of State failed to have the proposed amendments published, as required by the state constitution.

It must be concluded from a review of the first hundred years of the existence of the Iowa Constitution of 1857 that the document is a remarkable one. Its framers were not essentially original in their writing, as much of the constitution was copied from the original Iowa document which in turn had borrowed liberally from other state constitutions of the period, yet they were successful in putting together a supreme law that has served with relatively few modifications for one hundred years. Its longevity has primarily been due to the fact that it is basically an outline or blueprint of the essential framework of the state governmental structure. The error of many state constitutions of including a multitude of detailed administrative duties was avoided. Similarly, it gave a tremendous amount of legislative discretion to the General Assembly, thus preventing the need for numerous amendments.

<sup>15</sup> 60 *Iowa Reports*, 543.

<sup>16</sup> Jacob Van der Zee, "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:266-83 (April, 1909); 8:171-210 (April, 1910).

## CONTEMPORARY EDITORIAL OPINION OF THE 1857 CONSTITUTION

[The following editorials and "letters to the editor," published in seven Iowa newspapers in the months preceding the August, 1857, vote on the new constitution, illustrate several points about the attitudes and opinions of the time. As Dr. Russell M. Ross has pointed out in his article on the constitution in this issue of the JOURNAL, the document has proved, over the one hundred years of its existence, to be a sound and stable instrument of government. It contains few changes from the 1846 Constitution, but these changes aroused a furious political battle in 1857.

In 1857 the nation was full of strife over the issue of slavery, and practically every public question was viewed in the light of that problem. The Dred Scott decision and the troubles in Kansas during that year only served to bring the slavery issue more and more to the fore. Thus, when the framers of the 1857 Constitution provided, in a "codicil," that the voters could decide whether to remove the word "white" from the section on the franchise, the prosouthern Democrats seized upon this as a basis for an attack on the whole constitution.

The most important change in the new constitution — the provision that banking should be legalized in Iowa — also came under Democratic attack. Since the framing of the 1846 Constitution, when Iowa had been governed by the Democrats, the Republican party had been born and was now fighting for control of the state government. Republican opposition to the anti-bank beliefs of the Democrats had been one of the causes for the calling of the constitutional convention in 1857.

These two features — the removal of the word "white" and the provision for banks — were the chief points of Democratic attack. The editors of the opposing newspapers promptly and enthusiastically entered into a bitter contest and filled columns with denunciation. These editorials are of interest in that they illustrate the points of view of the two parties on the constitution, their methods of approaching the problem, and their mastery of invective.

Unfortunately, only one Democratic newspaper was available for this



compilation, but the replies of the Republican editors give some idea of the position of the Democrats, if the reader will allow a certain latitude for partisan misquotation. Discounting the political animus which motivated the editors, it would seem that the Democratic "line" was to play up the Negro issue as a cover-up for their opposition to the banking provision. In the light of the fact that the 1856 Iowa census listed only 275 Negroes in a population of just under 518,000, the Democratic fear of granting the Negro the vote — a most unlikely eventuality in Iowa in 1857 — seems uncalled for, unless it actually was, as the Republicans claimed, a smoke screen to hide their real opposition to the section legalizing banking in the new constitution.

As predicted by the Republicans, the constitution was accepted by the voters, although by a slim margin — 1,600 out of a total of some 79,000 ballots cast. The vote on the "codicil" was overwhelmingly against the removal of the word "white" from the constitution: only 8,489 out of the 58,000 voting on this issue favored it. The smaller vote on the referendum indicates that many Iowans were not yet ready to stand up and be counted on the Negro question.

These editorials are typical of the political wars of the time and show how the two sides approached the issues which were soon to lead the nation into civil conflict. They also show how a constitutional decision could be clouded by the political and economic strife then current. A list of the framers of the constitution, and their vote on final passage, has been included, to clarify certain references in the editorials. — EDITOR.]

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From the McGregor *North Iowa Times* (Democratic), June 26, 1857:

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Has a great many defects and the press of the North seems to be generally opposed to it. We shall follow suit and vote against it also, but several of the features condemned by our cotemporaries are not so unacceptable to us as they are to others. If we could secure the establishment of a sound *General* Banking system such as Wisconsin has we would "go in" for it, notwithstanding we might separate ourselves from the fellowship of many valued political friends; but we can not under the proposed Constitution get a *general* law without being cursed with a *chartered* monopoly, and knowing how the latter is got through a legislative body, how it is

based, how it will behave when its fangs are once buried in the flesh of business, we prefer to do without the good, to the acceptance of both propositions. So also are other good points rejected because of the alloy found in the new instrument. We have not time to dissect the subject carefully, nor do we suppose it would particularly please our readers to occupy a column or two in reviewing a work that they have quite generally decided to reject. Our Republican exchanges up this way so far as we have had expressions from them are strongly opposed to the *negro-equalizing* clause, and one of our acquaintances goes so far as to insist that "a Constitution with such a black tail to it ought to be 'spit upon' by the whites, if no other reason existed for its condemnation." He offers to wager a hundred pounds of wool against a Sharp's Rifle that not one of the members of the Convention who voted to submit this clause to the people, will give it support at the polls, the colored attachment being appended only to secure aid from a class of men whose abstract ideas of freedom and political equality have run away with all practical notions as applied by the American people in social life! We don't know much about these matters, but we think there is little danger of the whites of Iowa going from the extreme of a present statutory expulsion of blacks from the state, to the extravagant liberality involved in this negro-voting and negro-office-holding proposition!

Our sympathies for the black man are not less than those entertained by his loudest pitty-ers but we would not be so hypocritical as to tantalize him with political rights and then practice towards him the severest social excision. Better leave him in that humble position which his nature seeks and in which he seems most happy, than to proffer his elevation and then insult him with language and looks implying contempt for the mind, form and color of the unfortunate.

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*Ibid.*, July 24, 1857:

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

We have given our readers this document in the last two numbers of the *Times*. As before remarked there are many things in the new instrument which we would be glad to see ingrafted on the old, but as a whole we esteem the late article no improvement on the present organic law of the State, and hence we shall vote against it.

It is charged by many of our cotemporaries that it was the design of

the framers of the New Constitution to bring the laws of Iowa in conflict with those of the U. S., and particularly is this the case in relation to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. If this was their design, and the language will fairly bear this construction, it was a very silly move on the part of the assembled constitutional wisdom of the State of Iowa, and it will be still more silly for a people deriving so many blessings from the Union, to deliberately vote a denial of the obligations they are under for the enjoyment of these advantages. How futile too, the effort to resist the authorities of the general government! A defeat of the Federal Law when enacted according to the forms, and in harmony with the tenor of the Constitution of the U. S., will be the opening event in an era of anarchy that must be fatal to us as States and communities. Even the very "free discussion" of the pulpit and the forum as to "our duty to obey a law that may conflict with our individual opinions," is bearing its legitimate fruits in the Riots that unhappily are disgracing our country not only in the wilds of Kansas, but in cities eminent for their wealth, their schools and their colleges, their churches and the high mental and moral attainments of their citizens.

Shall Iowa add to the mob spirit already rife in her oldest neighborhoods, by a solemn repudiation of her duty as one of the members of the confederacy, because a portion of her citizens have become so sensitive as to be unable to obey any law except that of "conscience?" We sincerely trust that no such recorded folly will be reported to us after the 1st Monday in August. If the State in her sovereign capacity says we will observe the national charter only so far as it suits the latitude and longitude, the moral and political notions of Iowa, with what weight of influence can she demand of one of her humblest citizens any further obedience to *her* laws than that which may accord with *his* notions of right and wrong. Authority may not always be agreeable to observe, but we can have no security individual or national without it, and after the first sweet impulse of unconditional freedom is enjoyed, we will turn with anxiety to the contemplation of the dangers which our "free" but unprotected situation brings with it. We can have no liberty without law, because the arm of the ruffian would soon deprive us of the one, if the other were not ever present to defend us. We can have no law unless individual opinion observes that which the masses have decided to be the best rule of action for the government of the whole.

The New Constitution, by admission of its friends, abolishes all distinc-

tions as to the color or character of witnesses in our court of law! This we regard as so very objectionable as to be mentioned only to meet a ready condemnation from every man who refuses to see criminals or other degraded persons occupy the witness stand. We confess to a love for the present rules on the subject of witnesses' qualifications. If a man has been convicted of perjury or other infamous crime, we, as a juror, would not want to hear him speak in a matter involving the interests of a single human being — he is out-lawed, and politically is no more a man! Neither are we so tender-hearted towards the colored races as to render our laws more indulgent to them than they now are. We are sorry for the negro, but our sympathy does not cause us to regard him as competent to bear the political responsibilities of an American citizen, nor are we content to risk the effect of an abrogation of "distinctions of color" when Mexico and the Central American States present such mournful evidences of the utter impracticability of sustaining a government based upon the recognition of all races as co-partners.

If the Republican party of Iowa desire to invite a colored emigration and fill our towns and villages with a class of persons who must ever remain socially degraded, they can effectually secure that object by offering the premiums for black citizens which this New Constitution and its separate *anti-white* codicil embodies. There is no man of our acquaintance, be his politics Republican or Democratic, who desires to see negroes come among us — the blighting effect of such people upon the portion of a village which they occupy, has been witnessed by all in older states, — why invite them here by the adoption of laws placing them in situations more flattering than they can attain in other states? Canada is now groaning under the incubus of large negro neighborhoods, and her enlightened statesmen are seeking to effect some governmental arrangement by which her territory may be relieved of their presence. — Let Iowa extend the hand of ill-judged sympathy to them and it will not be twelve months before our villages will be spotted with "negro quarters" and an indolent mass of ebony citizens who will blight any town they settle in. We all know this to be true, and yet there are newspaper conductors so sick with mawkish sentimentality as to urge the propriety of throwing open the doors of our political temple to the indiscriminate admission of *any thing* that bears a resemblance in shape to the Caucasian race. We thank God that we have not forgotten for whom and by whom the American Fabric of Constitutional Freedom was reared!



From the *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye and Telegraph* (Republican), April 23, 1875:

With a view to the proposed alteration of our State Constitution, and the avowed intention of the Republicans to prepare the way for amalgamation, we would suggest the propriety of organizing, in every election precinct or school-district, a FREE WHITE MEN'S SOCIETY, &c. &c.

Thus speaks Father [Henry P.] Scholte, the editor of the *Gazette*, Alcalde of the City of Pella, Prairie Lake Township, Marion county, Iowa. We copy to endorse the wisdom and propriety of the suggestion. If there be no more white men there than at the time the marshal made his return, it is highly important that their blood should be preserved in its purity. We hope also that our venerable friend may be successful in fencing out those "niggers," and preserving in its purity the blood of his people, as it came from the ancient Holland stem, the "avowed intention" of the Republicans to "prepare the way for amalgamation," to the contrary notwithstanding.

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*Ibid.*, May 5, 1857:

It is somewhat singular that the only objection that has been urged against the new Constitution is one founded upon falsehood — Some half a dozen more or less of Buchanan newspapers, into the minds of whose Editors one honest impulse or manly emotion, had it ever found a lodgement would have been totally destitute of society, have attempted to get up a prejudice against it by asserting that there is appended to it a codicil giving the right of suffrage to the African. And they have thoroughly learned the rogue's maxim, viz: That a lie well stuck to is as good as the truth, and hence they repeat the falsehood day by day. But it is no use. Every body that is capable of finding out any thing has already found out that this story is all false. It is pretty generally understood that a Constitution against which no truthful objection has been raised after it has been before the people several months is a good one. Party lines cannot be drawn.

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*Ibid.*, June 20, 1857:

The close observer who looked beyond the surface of things readily discovers the secret reason which lies at the bottom of the opposition, violent and uncompromising, on the part of a few journals and individuals in this

## MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1857\*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Nativity</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Vote on Const.</i>
Ayers, Squire	D	Van Buren	Penn.	Farmer	56	Nay
Bunker, David	R	Washington	Ind.	Farmer	46	Yea
Clark, John T.	R	Allamakee	N. Y.	Lawyer	40	Yea
Clarke, Rufus L. B.	R	Henry	Conn.	Lawyer	37	Yea
Clarke, William Penn	R	Johnson	Md.	Lawyer	39	Yea
Cotton, Aylett R.	D	Clinton	Ohio	Lawyer	30	Yea
Day, Timothy	D	Van Buren	Ohio	Farmer	53	Yea
Edwards, John	R	Lucas	Ky.	Lawyer	42	Yea
Ells, George W.	R	Scott	Conn.	Bookseller	48	Yea
Emerson, J. H.	D	Dubuque	Va.	Real Estate	49	Nay
Gibson, H. D.	D	Marion	Tenn.	Merchant	37	Nay
Gillaspy, George	D	Wapello	Ky.	Farmer	42	Yea
Gower, Robert	R	Cedar	Maine	Farmer	53	Yea
Gray, Hosea W.	R	Linn	Penn.	Farmer	40	Yea
Hall, Jonathan C.	D	Des Moines	N. Y.	Lawyer	47	Nay
Harris, Amos	D	Appanoose	Ohio	Lawyer	34	Nay
Hollingsworth, Jeremiah	R	Keokuk	Ind.	Farmer	47	Yea
Johnstone, Edward	D	Lee	Penn.	Lawyer	41	Yea
Marvin, A. H.	R	Jones	N. Y.	Farmer	49	Yea
Palmer, D. P.	D	Davis	N. Y.	Lawyer	40	Yea
Parvin, J. A.	R	Muscatine	N. J.	Farmer	49	Yea
Patterson, William	D	Lee	Va.	Pork Packer	54	Yea
Peters, John H.	D	Delaware	Conn.	Lawyer	28	Nay
Price, Daniel W.	D	Pottawattamie	Ky.	Lawyer	30	Yea
Robinson, M. W.	D	Des Moines	Ohio	Farmer	42	Yea
Scott, Alpheus	R	Clayton	Mass.	Real Estate	32	Yea
Seeley, Thomas	R	Guthrie	N. Y.	Farmer	33	Yea
Skiff, Harvey J.	R	Jasper	N. Y.	Banker	36	Yea
Solomon, Daniel H.	D	Mills	Va.	Lawyer	27	Nay
Springer, Francis	R	Louisa	Maine	Farmer	44	Yea
Todhunter, Lewis	R	Warren	Ohio	Lawyer	35	Yea
Traer, J. C.	R	Benton	Ohio	Banker	30	Yea
Warren, William A.	R	Jackson	Ky.	Mail Contractor	45	Yea
Wilson, James F.	R	Jefferson	Ohio	Lawyer	28	Yea
Winchester, Sheldon G.	R	Hardin	N. Y.	Druggist	26	Yea
Young, James A.	R	Mahaska	Va.	Merchant	41	Yea

\*Erik McKinley Eriksson, "The Framers of the Constitution of 1857," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:58-9, 78-9 (January, 1924).

State, to the New Constitution to be voted on in August next. Although in different latitudes different reasons are given for this opposition, yet the real and true one is the same for this throughout the State. These National Democrats are objecting to it in Northern Iowa because it does not give the right of suffrage to the Negro — while hereabouts they object to the same instrument on account, as they boldly assert, of its giving this right to Negroes and Indians! — Some assert that the clause authorizing banking is so loosely worded that it will invite men of straw to swindle our citizens by the establishment of banking institutions for the purpose of failing, while on the other hand it is claimed by those professing to be friendly to banks that this codicil is so very stringent that no man or company can or will bank under it and therefore we shall be no better off in this respect with the new than the old Constitution.

It must be very apparent to the most casual observer that an opposition so very eccentric in the ground occupied must have some reason for its violent course concealed from the public. Such is the fact. The opposition attempted to be fomented against it is stirred up by a set of men who obtained charters for and started a number of banks in Nebraska and are now flooding our State with a paper currency for which we are utterly unable to obtain gold and silver because it is impossible for us to run their paper home upon them. There is no conveyance to Nebraska save by the old stage coach and when we have reached there by this conveyance we should probably be compelled to travel half the territory over to find the local habitation of these banks whose owners live and do business in Iowa; and after we had found them we should not probably find provision made for the proper redemption of the paper. The truth is we are furnished with a paper currency which is not convertible, in regard to the solvency of which we can know nothing, by a set of banks whose interest it is to fail (we do not say that they will.) These bankers are making money by this operation. If we adopt the new Constitution and under it establish banks of our own, their occupation is gone! . . .

The paper in this city is controlled and its editor, [David] Sheward, owned by Bernhart Henn, of Fairfield, one of the Nebraska rag barons. Other newspapers are in the same condition. But as one rose can hardly be said to make a summer so a few newspaper editors are not the People and when following a corrupt line of policy will meet but a very faint response.

The Democratic party, as a party is not and cannot be arrayed against this Constitution. — All party opposition to it was dropped in the Convention when it received on its final adoption all but four votes. [sic. The final vote in the convention was 25 yeas to 7 nays.] It is destined to an almost equally unanimous endorsement at the hands of the people, the opposition of a few corrupt newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

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*Ibid.*, June 24, 1857:

#### STILL HARPING

Our neighbor over the way [the *Burlington Gazette*, a Democratic paper] with a persevering energy worthy of a better cause, is still harping on the New Constitution, and trying to prevent its adoption. But he is evidently "kicking against the pricks" — fighting against light and knowledge — against his own convictions and against the popular sentiment. The *Gazette* would fain retain the old Constitution *because* it prohibits banking — it would prevent the adoption of the New because it *permits* and *legalizes* banking, and under it we might have, as in Ohio and most of the States, a paper currency convertible into gold and silver, at the pleasure of the bill holder, instead, as now, of an illegal and depreciated currency in the soundness of which there can be little confidence.

The inconsistency of the course is very palpable. The editor opposes Banks and cries aloud for hard money, hoping thus to enable his employers to furnish us a paper currency from Nebraska, and ultimately enable them to make fortunes by exploding these rag factories, leaving thousands of dollars of their worthless paper in the hands of the people of Iowa, a dead loss. The editor of the *Gazette*, instead of being true to the people of the State — has sold himself like Judas, not, however, for thirty pieces of silver, but for Nebraska rags, to Bernhart Henn and the paper Barons of Nebraska. — He advocates hard money for the sake of the shin plaster manufacturers, because they pay him to do it; just as he did last year advocate Popular Sovereignty, under which he defended the right of Missourians to do the voting of the people of Kansas. He then thought it no harm for his right good masters, the nigger-drivers, to commit murder, arson, and kindred crimes in Kansas and Missouri — and now he is equally chivalrous in defending the sharks of Nebraska, and anxious to keep the ground clear for them in Iowa.



*Ibid.*, June 27, 1857:

It shows to what straits the opposition are driven when it is stated that about the strongest stands taken against the New Constitution have either been upon its best points or upon articles common to the Constitutions of the several States and of the United States. — As an instance in point it is proper to state that the Dubuque Express and Herald is objecting to its adoption on account of the following: "No person shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property, without due process of law." In this enlightened nineteenth century a public journal professing Democratic principles objects to a Constitution because it guarantees to every person "life, liberty, and property," until they are deprived of these rights by "due process of law." This objectionable feature of the new Constitution is found in the first article and first section of the old Constitution now in force — is promulgated in the Declaration of Independence — and on it securely rests our free and Republican Institutions and the whole fabric of Government in all civilized countries. And what objection does the reader suppose the knowing editors of the Express and Herald can find against a clause which guarantees such important rights. They say it will interfere with the execution of the Fugitive Slave law!!

They would sweep away the bill of rights — habeas corpus — trial by jury, and everything guaranteeing the rights of person and property to the three quarters of a million of white persons living in Iowa in order that the owners of human chattels may have a clear field for the capture of a few hundred negroes. Such is the most disgraceful phase of the "nigger question," and the most abject and pitiable exhibition of doughfacedness ever seen north of Mason and Dixons line! The Dubuque paper has made the opposition of the Iowa State Gazette not only respectable but dignified and manly.

Another objection is pertinaciously urged. — The new Constitution requires for the passage of every law a majority of all the members in each branch of the legislature. This upon trial will be found an excellent section. It will compel a full and constant attendance of all the members, prevent pairing off and greatly facilitate the transaction of public business. A full attendance upon the sessions of the Legislature will be compelled, and we believe the people of the State will have cause to rejoice that the framers of this Constitution did so wise a thing as to incorporate this new feature.

This is a fair sample of the character of the opposition and shows how frivolous and heartless it is — we had almost said how false and corrupt!

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*Ibid.*, July 2, 1857 (quoting article from the *Iowa City Republican*):

THE DISINTERESTED WITNESS!

Bernhart Henn, Esq., is out with a letter against the New Constitution; and the *Crescent* publishes it with a gusto peculiarly refreshing, all things considered. What think you, gentle reader, could have induced the immaculate *Henn* to set up such a cackling? Can it be possible that his connection with shaving shops at Fairfield, Council Bluffs, Fort Dodge, Sioux City, and a half dozen other points, has any possible connection with his ferocious assault upon the New Constitution? Isn't there room for a suspicion that his extensive interest in the *Nebraska Shinplasters*, — with which he is helping to flood the state, by a tricky evasion of law, — has a little influence in inducing the deposit of such an addled egg, as that on which the *Crescent* is setting, with the hope of hatching out something in the likeness of a Democratic cock? — Democrats of Iowa! Isn't there something exceedingly suspicious in the opposition of such men to the New Constitution? Look at the matter. This Mr. Henn professes to be a simon-pure democrat; yet he is head over ears in illegitimate banking, and the issue of *Nebraska shinplasters*! He is a pretty adviser of the people, in this matter of the New Constitution. Wouldn't it be advisable for him to come into the arena with cleaner hands, if he desires to influence the mind of plain, common sense people? Indeed, would not even the smallest modicum of prudence and modesty induce him to seal his lips? The opposition of such a man, in such a position, is the strongest possible argument in favor of the New Constitution and a legitimate Banking Law.

The bungling manner in which Mr. Henn approaches the matter, renders his assault perfectly harmless. It would not do for him to give the true reason of his opposition; his hostility to the Banking feature of the New Constitution. — His position and pursuits effectually seal his lips on that point. But that he should hatch out any thing so ridiculous, as that story about 300 *blacks coming from Ohio*, if the New Constitution is adopted, betrays a weakness which casts discredit upon the whole barnyard brood.

The provisions of the new Iowa instrument, on the subject of Testimony and Education, correspond almost literally with those of the instrument

given to Ohio, by a Democratic Constitutional Convention. Where the Constitution of our sister State fails to enunciate exactly the same rules, the statutes of the State have made up the deficiency. What possible motive then could 300 blacks have in coming from Ohio to Iowa. The defeat of the codicil is admitted, on all hands, to be inevitable. The extension of suffrage has not a half dozen outspoken advocates in the State. While in Ohio, under the rulings of a Democratic Court and a Democratic Constitution, colored men vote in every county, at every election; it being necessary only for them to prove or swear that they are more than half white! We have seen men as black as the ace of spades, vote there year after year, before Democratic Judges. Call your next witness, gentlemen. We doubt whether Mr. Henn will pass muster.

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*Ibid.*, July 9, 1857:

The back-bone of the opposition to the new constitution comes from a dozen or two of our citizens, who being men of substance, have undertaken, in violation of the spirit of the organic law, to furnish a paper currency to the People of Iowa. The prime object with them, as with all men, is to make money, and hence their paper currency, although purporting to be, is not convertible into gold and silver at the pleasure of the note holder, because the banks are out of the way over in Nebraska and elsewhere and their notes cannot be sent home for redemption without great delay and expense.

These men are furnishing the sinews of the present war upon the new Constitution, and they can afford to bleed freely to prevent its adoption, for they are now putting money in their pockets and will continue to do so as long as they can keep out legitimate banks.

Does the reader wish to know how these "rag-barons" are now tinkering with our currency and keeping their paper in circulation in spite of our teeth [*sic*]? The *modus operandi* is thus: Bernhart Henn, for instance, is the owner in part or whole of a Bank in Nebraska and another in Indiana, and has a Broker's office in this State, where all the business of these two banks is really done and where he *professes* to redeem the notes of both of them in currency! A. sells his farm, and gets a thousand dollars in paper of the Indiana wild-cat, redeemable by Mr. Henn. As he feels no great confidence in the paper he at once presents it at the counter in Fairfield for

redemption and gets in return one thousand dollars in Nebraska "Red Dog!" B. has in his possession Nebraska rags to the same amount and presenting it for redemption is handed over the same thousand but just redeemed, of Indiana trash. Mr. Henn thus keeps all this trash afloat in our midst without being in any manner troubled except to count it as often as folks like to swap cats and dogs. He is thus putting money in his pocket all the time while the business and production of the country is taxed in the shape of exchange for his benefit and to pay the difference between his rags and specie!

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*Ibid.*, July 13, 1857:

#### THE OPPOSITION TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION

We propose to submit a few facts in regard to the men who oppose the adoption of the new Constitution. The opposition comes from the Jones [George Wallace Jones, Iowa Democratic Senator in Congress] and Henn clique of the spoils party of Iowa, who have already grown rich, fabulously rich, upon government favors commanded by their position and used to enrich themselves and friends. They have had the control of all the land offices in the State for years, moving them wherever they could thus best subserve their own private ends. They purchased Ft. Dodge and Sioux City, and then had the Land offices located there. Not content with this they made these places points in the Railroads to which Government grants of lands were made and thus added very largely to their before great wealth.

These are but single items. We might name other instances of practice more reprehensible whereby they have enriched themselves through their influence with the General Government. We might go on and mention the blackest of all their black transactions, the effort to swindle the settlers in western Iowa and drive them off the farms they had improved, which occurred last year. They attempted to seize, under a law which these blood-suckers had smuggled through Congress, through their tools and creatures, some forty thousand acres of swamp land, already taken possession of and sold by Iowa to the men who occupied it. But they were foiled in this.

These men are cormorants — they are the most unscrupulous and heartless set of plunderers that ever cursed any State or country. And they are among us with their great wealth, which is power, and are determined to control the destinies of our State. During the last two years their money has procured Bank Charters for them from the Territorial Legislature of



Nebraska; an exercise of sovereignty, by the by, on the part of the "Squatters" of that Territory, not only of questionable propriety, but of doubtful power. Having thus secured Bank Charters and set their "rag mills" at work over among the "Buffalo haunts and gopher holes," they are prepared to supply Iowa with a currency. But they must prevent the adoption of the new Constitution, which allows the people of this State to charter Banks of their own, or they will totally fail in their plan of making still other fortunes by furnishing a depreciated currency. If they can prevent the people from voting [for] this Constitution, what will be the results? Should it be defeated, *six years* must intervene before another can be adopted! — What then? The Nebraska Banks will in that time have an abundant opportunity to expand their circulation — to get millions of their trash into the pockets of the people, and then explode — blow up, involving the State in a calamity which must blight it for years! We do not know that this will be so and do not assert it, but we do know that they have obtained charters and set banks in operation, and their present interest is to fail!

On the other hand we have a system of Banking to be legalized by the New Constitution, which makes it the interest of the Banker not to fail. This is the true plan and the only one that ever will give us good Banks. Let the Constitution be adopted, and under it will spring up sound and safe banks that will not only redeem their bills with specie but put down the price of exchange and reduce the rate of interest.

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From the *Des Moines Iowa Citizen* (Republican), June 17, 1857:

We have a word to say respecting those papers in the State which, while they are nominal friends to the new Constitution, are doing comparatively nothing to advance its interests. Quite a majority of the organs in the State are friendly to the amended instrument; but of this number there are few that are engaged in its defense with the energy that the occasion requires. This supineness and indifference are the more reprehensible from the fact, that the most unscrupulous advantage is taken by the enemies of the Constitution to defeat it. They distort it by misquotations — slander it by falsely representing its provisions, and they resort to the most unprincipled measures to defeat its adoption. Some of its sections are villainously abridged by striking out important words, and others are made to read differently by the most unblushing interpolations. All these efforts against the Constitution carry with them a certain amount of influence; and it is

our duty, and the duty of every paper in the State that has committed itself to the defense of the revised law, to assist in rolling back the tide of falsehood and malignity that is sweeping widely through our communities. This is a time for action. We may have bright and glorious visions of ultimate success, but these will avail us nothing unless our efforts correspond with our desires. Let us not leave for others to do what we are capable of doing ourselves. Let each friend of the Constitution do his duty, and let each paper that proposes to vindicate its claims be faithful to the interests of the people, and we will plant the standard of our triumph over the ruined fortresses of the enemy.

While we deplore the indifference of many of our cotemporaries, we must commend the ability and energy displayed by others. The Davenport Gazette has shown itself to be a fearless and able champion in the present canvass. The Muscatine Journal is doing a good work. The Iowa City Republican gives an occasional thrust at the Opposition, which is felt through all their ranks. The Fairfield Ledger is waging a spirited and successful warfare against its cotemporary — the Sentinel; and the Iowa State Journal has found its way, very fortunately, to the path of duty, and has come up to the help of the Constitution against the Philistines. Other papers are laboring with much ability and industry to promote the interests of the revised law; and it would be gratifying to us, if we could truthfully state, that every organ in Iowa that is professedly friendly to a righteous cause, is actively exerting its influence in behalf of the Constitution. We regret to say that this is not the case.

The course that is taken by our adversaries attests the utter feebleness of their cause. They endeavor to supply every deficiency in argument by unbounded impudence and meanness. The Muscatine Enquirer makes out its strongest objection to the Constitution, by directly assailing the Declaration of Independence. The Chariton Mail exhibits its impotent malice, by fulminating about imaginary negro equality. The Fairfield Sentinel and its invisible confederate in transgression, "*Iowa*," charge away from their feeble batteries, by striking out important words in the Constitution, and presenting this instrument, in a mutilated and disfigured form, to the people. The Maquoketa Sentinel, unable to originate an editorial on the subject, steals the thunder of the Muscatine Enquirer, and because no flashes of lightning attend this stolen thunder, no fatal results have followed. The Oskaloosa Times reciprocates the favor of the Sentinel by

borrowing largely from the Burlington Gazette; and the Gazette makes sundry convulsive efforts to supply the great drain that is made upon its resources, by attacking the Constitution of the United States. Having been exposed in this treasonable effort, the Gazette, like all other great criminals when they are arraigned, denies its guilt, and then suddenly begins to talk about its most familiar acquaintance — the *Devil*. It is always true to its degenerate instincts, and it is about as well qualified to represent the interests of that sable functionary around whom its affections linger, as any of its Democratic associates. — The Pella Gazette, which is a tolerable transcript of its melancholy namesake at Burlington, is so intensely foreign and anti-American in its feelings, that we suggest the propriety of its removal to Holland or Terra Del Fuego. It has a wrong location in an intelligent county, and if it can find a community in some foreign land in which intelligence is at a discount, and ignorance and impudence are at a premium, a transfer of the Gazette to that congenial locality would be very desirable. It might do something in softening the ruder outline of barbarism in other nations, but it is entirely out of its proper sphere in assuming airs dictatorial over native Americans. The Council Bluffs Bugle, an offshoot of Mormonism and political bigotry, concludes that the new Constitution should be defeated because the [Council Bluffs] Nonpareil happens to be in its favor. It is ludicrous to observe its tortuous windings in trying to escape from merited castigation. It had better join the march of the Mormon brethren, and hasten its exodus from Iowa to Salt Lake. Deseret opens up a theater in which its ambition to do evil might be fully gratified. Its notes, as a *Bugle*, would be very serviceable in calling to its assistance the brigands and land-pirates of Utah. The organ of Senator Jones in Dubuque, trembling for the safety of its distinguished patron of the Senate, makes a violent effort to defeat the Constitution, because it provides for the creation of banks. This paper has already given us a history of the banking system, and the uninitiated might infer from its perusal, that paper money has produced every evil under the sun, not even excepting the Cholera and the Comet! It deals altogether in extremes — has an impulsive and excitable temperament, and the greatest difficulty it experiences in discussing the merits of a question, is a general want of ability to comprehend its own arguments. If its judgment were co-extensive with its taste for the unreal and fictitious, it might live a semi-remove, at least, from its present obscurity. It has a copious expectoration of words, which

would be of singular advantage to it, if they meant anything at all; but in the present state of the case, we regard an editorial in the "Northwest" as a mass of empty and unmeaning verbiage.

These are a portion of the Iowa papers that stand opposed to us in the present contest. Collectively considered, they form a delectable group, and some skillful ambrotypist would confer a favor upon the public by taking an impression of their physiognomies. The Editor of the Burlington Gazette should be represented on the plate as scowling defiantly at the American Constitution. The Editor of the Muscatine Enquirer should be exhibited as trampling upon the Declaration of Independence, while the gentleman who presides over the destinies of the Maquoketa Sentinel, should be represented as filching an empty editorial from the pocket of a political brother. The editor of the Northwest should be fully displayed as kneeling at the feet of Senator Jones, and the editor of the Bugle should be exhibited as running toward Salt Lake in hot haste, with his neighbor of the Nonpareil in close pursuit.

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#### THE SENTINEL

The most shameless, unblushing and unprincipled article which we have yet seen in opposition to the new Constitution, appeared recently in the Fairfield Sentinel. It was written by an anonymous scribbler who styles himself "Iowa." This invisible representative of all untruth, states that the material amendment to the Article on the Right of Suffrage consists in the erasure of the word "*white*" in the first Section. According to the misrepresentation of "Iowa," the first Section would read thus: "Every male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years" &c.

We can hardly conceive how it is possible for any one to be guilty of a falsehood, so villainously notorious. It is well known to every voter in the State who is not a verdant representative of unmixed ignorance, that the word "*white*" has never been expunged from the amended Constitution. It remains there still, occupying the same position which it does in the present Constitution; and in view of this fact, which is conspicuously obvious to every reader of the amended law, the writer in the Sentinel is reduced to the miserable condition of pleading guilty either to the most transparent ignorance, or the basest misrepresentation. We deem it a duty that we owe to the public, and to the new Constitution which has been so unscrupulously invaded by dishonorable partizans, to unmask the imper-



tinant visage of the Sentinel's correspondent, and drag him from his suspicious concealment. He professes to give us a grave and dispassionate article on the Constitution, and yet he is so conscious of the weakness of his cause, and his utter destitution of every manly and noble principle, that he must, in order to escape public odium, throw over himself the specious covering of a false signature. Like all other enemies of truth and justice, he acknowledges the instincts of the coward, and skulks, assassin-like, in the dark. His motives for concealment are weighty, because he knows that if the anonymous veil is torn away from his countenance, a leprous decay will seize his reputation for truth, and he will be known on the streets as a walking libel on humanity.

We charge the Fairfield Sentinel with being *particeps criminis* in this disgraceful communication. The editor well knew that he was giving publicity to a falsehood for which an apology would be the veriest mockery; and he stands convicted before the world of aiding and abetting an untruthful correspondent, to perpetrate one of the most shameless falsities that ever disgraced an Iowa paper. Let the different organs of the State, friendly to the Constitution, expose this foul calumny of the Sentinel, until that paper is known, as well as its fictitious adjunct, "*Iowa*," as a byword and a hissing among the people.

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*Ibid.*, July 29, 1857:

HO, FOR THE CONSTITUTION!

If the new Constitution is defeated, the present organic law, with all its defective and contracted provisions, will be fastened upon the people for years to come.

If the new Constitution is defeated, have we any reason to believe that any future Constitutional Convention will frame for us a better one, or have we any assurance that when it is framed, it will be approved by the popular vote of the people?

If we suffer defeat in the present Constitutional contest, how much time, and how many thousand dollars of the people's money, must be employed in the reorganization of a Convention whose work, at last, may be overthrown by the voters of the State?

If our banner, in this canvass, is destined to trail in the dust, how long must we remain at the mercy of domestic shiplasters, and at the mercy, too, of every banker of every other State in the Union? How long must

we continue without any means of defense, with our hands and our feet manacled by the present Constitution? We say, how long? and let the people answer.

If a repulse awaits us on the first Monday of August, will not this result strongly indicate the fact, that the people of Iowa are perfectly satisfied with the present Constitution? If they are satisfied with it, why did they petition for the convocation of a Constitutional Convention whose only object in assembling was to frame a new fundamental law? If the present law is unexceptionable, why demand another? Why appropriate over fifty thousand dollars to defray the expenses of our delegates in Convention, when their services were not needed?

If the Constitution is defeated, every department of business in the State will become chilled and paralyzed. Improvements of every kind will receive a check from which they will not recover; and it will be found, when too late, that by throwing our influence in opposition to the Constitution, we have brought down ruin upon our own heads.

By voting against the new Constitution, we will virtually declare to the world, that the citizens of Iowa are not capable of SELF-GOVERNMENT. It will be equivalent to the declaration on our part, that the people have but few reserved rights, and that the Constitution should have power to control despotically the popular will, and chain down public sentiment on many of the great questions of the day.

On the other hand, by the adoption of the new Constitution, the good old doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that "ALL POLITICAL POWER IS INHERENT IN THE PEOPLE," will be established on a broad and permanent foundation. The rights of the masses will be respected, and the true citizenship of WHITE MEN will be vindicated.

Adopt the Constitution, and the means of defense against the paper issues of foreign corporations, will be placed in the hands of the people. A healthy banking system, endorsed by the ruling power—the people—will diffuse its blessings—the gold and silver which have been drained from us by the importation of foreign paper issues, will be returned to us—exorbitant rates of interest for money loaned will be modified to such an extent that usury will hardly be known—improvements of a useful and durable character will spring up in every part of the State, and in a year from this time, every man who now opposes the Constitution, will hide his diminished head in shame and mortification.

Adopt the Constitution, and the common school system of the State, which is the fortress, the stronghold, the great citadel in the midst of our civilization, will acquire a vigor and an efficiency which have not been hitherto known; and parents who wisely seek the moral and intellectual improvement of their children, will bless the day in which their votes secured the adoption of the new Constitution.

Ratify the Constitution, and every interest of the State, including education, agriculture, the mechanical departments, commerce and trade, and railroad improvements, will receive an impetus which will ultimately place Iowa, in point of wealth and importance, far in advance of a majority of her sister States. Let the people vote right, and all this will be accomplished.

We say again, "Ho, for the Constitution!" Let its friends rally to the standard, and work for victory. Let the fetters of party be broken. Let the prejudices of faction be hushed into silence, that the united voice of the people, untrammelled by party, and by partizan demagogues, will be lifted up in advocacy of the new Constitution. Men of all parties and of all honorable vocations, have a common and an undivided interest in this subject; and as they desire the prosperity of the State by the establishment of a more liberal form of government, they will deposit their votes in favor of right and of justice.

Ho, for the new Constitution! Let every neighborhood, precinct and county be organized. Arouse the spirit of enthusiasm everywhere. Marshal your forces for the engagement. Let the voice of discord be hushed into everlasting silence; and as you go forth to battle on the first Monday of August, let your war-cry, as it rings out upon the breeze above the commotion of party, bear the stirring burden: The new Constitution is embalmed in the hearts of the people. We will fight for it upon the common field of citizenship at the ballot box; and we will never give over the struggle, until victory perches upon our glorious banner. Ho, for the Constitution!

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From the Cedar Rapids *Cedar Valley Times* (Republican), July 2, 1857:

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The adoption of a fundamental law by the people of a free sovereign State is the highest prerogative of sovereignty and the most important of all political transactions. Since the days of *Magna Charter* [sic] the English

and English American people have alike claimed the right to guard their liberties, secure the general welfare, and promote the highest interests of the citizen by firm, unchangeable constitutional guarantees, made by themselves and changed only by themselves. Particularly is this a part of our American system. We claim the right not only to make at the outset a constitution for the State, but to modify and change the same from time to time as experience or changing necessity may demand. The people of this State have for several years past felt the necessity for a change in the organic law of this State. Some three years ago the legislature voted to submit the proposition for a convention to the people, but the bill got lost in the pocket of Gov. HAMSTEAD [*sic.* Governor Stephen Hempstead] but, finally the people had an opportunity of voting upon this question and although the bogus Democratic papers of the State howled out their opposition to the holding of the convention, the vote was largely in favor of the measure, and bungtown Democracy slunk away to watch for some turn in the wheel more auspicious for their peculiar kind of attack. They tried very hard to get the control of the convention, but found that the people gave them but fifteen out of thirty-six members. The Convention once assembled, some of said bogus democratic papers ignored its existence (like the *State Democrat* at Davenport,) never once alluding to its organization or action, others became very differently affected (like the *Reporter* at Iowa City) and grew noisy and excited because republican delegates elected by republican votes in a republican State, should desire a republican Constitution, not in the party sense of the word, but a Constitution free and equal in its provisions and operations. The Democratic members of the Convention were also alive to party interests, and by a system of severe tactics tried to divide and distract the republican members, but with little success.

Finally the Convention of 1857 finished its labors, and its work is before the people of the State for rejection or approval at the polls in August. Bogus Democracy is now making its last effort against the progressive and liberal propositions contained in the New Constitution. It carries on a guerrilla warfare, the most diverse and conflicting arguments being made use of in different portions of the State. Here in Linn [County] we are told to vote against the New Constitution, for the reason that it does not entirely restrict county indebtedness for works of internal improvement, while the Scott county Democracy are adjured to vote against it for the



reason that it contains *any* such restriction. Thus it is that Democratic editors, with a few honorable exceptions, are waging an unprincipled fight upon the new and improved Constitution—a mere war of personal and local objections, a series of side thrusts, without making a single issue in which they unitedly contend for some great principle. Their object has become too transparent to escape the notice of the most casual observer. It is to defeat the Constitution because the Republican party had a majority in the Convention, and then to charge upon that party an imbecility which rendered them incapable of making a Constitution, and an extravagant and useless expenditure of public funds to defray the expenses of the Convention. If the new Constitution is not an improvement upon the old one, if it is not a step in advance, the people should not ratify it—no matter what party made it. If it *is*, then the people should allow no party policy or private interest to cheat them of its incalculable advantages. . . . If, on the whole, its provisions are BETTER, it is clear that it should be adopted, now that it is made.

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From the Dubuque *Daily Times* (Republican), July 13, 1857:

The statement was made in a previous article, that the Democratic party was arrayed, by the political tricksters of the party, against the New Constitution, not because there was anything in it conflicting with the principles of democracy, but because the majority of the delegates which adopted the amended Constitution, were not Democrats. It was further stated that even had the New Constitution been framed in a conclave consisting of simon-pure Democrats, yet it would be opposed by the party, because it issued from a body in which the Republicans had a majority of six delegates. The convention consisted of thirty-six members; fifteen Democrats and twenty-one Republicans. They were the select men of the State, and the people had so much confidence in their wisdom and integrity, that, had the instrument been submitted to them, immediately after its passage by the convention, and before party prejudice would be arrayed against it, they could have adopted it almost unanimously, on the strength of their confidence in the delegates. Nor would the democratic party have uttered a murmur against it; on the other hand, would claim that nearly every change in the Constitution was democratic in its principles, that it was brought about by the Democrats of the convention, and that the instrument, as a whole, was a Democratic triumph. Such, to some extent, are actually the facts. And

yet in the face of these facts, we see the leaders of the party, everywhere trying to whip into the traces, the members of that party, and array them against their own principles. There is not, we repeat, a single feature in the proposed New Constitution, antagonistic to democratic principles; neither is there anything conflicting with Republicanism. It is just what it should be; a platform roomy enough for all to stand on, and unite in harmonious action; and we question if there can be found a single disinterested man in the State, who has any reputation for wisdom and integrity, that would pronounce it, in a single feature, one sided — party biased. It is singularly free from it. There is but one point, on which it can be said to even look one sided, and that is whether the word “white” shall be stricken out. — But this is made a side issue, and it is quite possible that there will be as many Democrats as Republicans that will go for striking it out. That is, there will be but few that will molest the word at all. We are now speaking of what we believe will be the fact, and not on what we think should be done. But why, it may be asked, are the Democracy so anxious to defeat the New Constitution? There may be many reasons. It is essential, to the permanence of the party, that offices be abundant, and knowing the people to be dissatisfied with the existing Constitution, the defeat of the New would result in another election, which would furnish some offices for hungry and disaffected members of the party. Besides this, the Republicans being in the majority in the convention, and the instrument being so creditable, the party, unjustly we admit, get all the credit for it. But, probably the main and meanest reason why the tricksters of the Democracy seek to defeat the constitution, is to revenge themselves on the whole people for the defeat of the party in the last Gubernatorial and Presidential elections. They are anxious to keep the party alive by finding something for it to do, however dirty that work may be; and if by the oversight or indifference of the Republican party, they can succeed in carrying an election, as they did last Spring, when nearly thirteen thousand Republicans did not go near the polls, they hope that the temporary triumph will give prestige to the party, and enable it to recover its ascendancy in the State. Under any circumstances, this is a base course to pursue; but how utterly contemptible, for such a purpose, to array the party against its own principles, and in a matter in which the greatest good of the Commonwealth is so deeply concerned. And how absurd to reason with such demagogues.

From the *Washington Press* (Republican), July 1, 1857:

NEW CONSTITUTION

The August Election is fast approaching, and one of the most important issues to be decided at that time, is the adoption or rejection of the new Constitution. We have already published that instrument, and trust our readers gave it a careful perusal. From this time till the election we shall devote a liberal share of space to the discussion of its merits. . . .

There has been a studied effort on the part of certain Journals recently to make the Constitutional question a party issue, and to array the Democratic party in open hostility to the New Constitution, notwithstanding some of the ablest members of that party were in the Convention that framed it, and are still its warm advocates.

It is asserted that the most active opposition journals are under the control of parties who are interested in the circulation of the Nebraska currency with which our State is at present flooded, and whose interests would be jeopardized by the establishment of a sound and reliable banking system within our own borders. If this be true, it will cast an imputation upon the honesty of their opposition to the new Constitution, which will cause right-minded and honest men, even of their own party, to spurn their control. . . .

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Letter signed "Iowa" in *ibid.*, July 8, 1857:

NEW CONSTITUTION — ITS OPPONENTS

A correspondent of the Chicago Democratic Press, writing from Keokuk, shows up the motives which actuate many of the opponents of the new Constitution in so clear a light that we cannot refrain from quoting a few passages for the benefit of our readers. Speaking of the merits of the new Constitution, he says:

I think it will be very acceptable to the moderate and conservative men of both parties. The opposition to it will come from the ultra of all sides, and probably for very opposite causes.

There is a great deal of "noise and confusion" attempted to be made about "niggers," but this is all bosh. The new Constitution is almost verbally identical with the present one on the "nigger" question. It is true there is a separate clause submitting the question of "Negro Suffrage" to a vote of the people, but that has nothing more to do with the main body of the new Constitution than the Dred Scott decision. The question of "Negro Suffrage" is presented as a separate and distinct question, just as

it was presented by the Democratic Convention in Michigan in November, 1850. A great effort is being made, however, by a few dishonest persons to identify this separate question with the new Constitution itself, but the people are too intelligent to be caught by such shallow trickery.

The article on corporations in the new Constitution is assailed. You will observe that this article does *not* establish any banking system whatever, but merely gives the people an opportunity of voting for or against any banking system presented by the Legislature. To this the "hard money" Nebraska Bank men object most strenuously! The people are NOT to be trusted on the subject! They will, if permitted, fix a dangerous system of banking on themselves — dangerous to their prosperity and liberty, and, worse than all, dangerous to — the glorious monopoly of the financial affairs of the State, enjoyed at present by the owners of Nebraska wild cat banks!

These "hard money" Nebraska Bank gentry, through their presses, tell the people that it is not Democratic to issue and circulate paper as money — they are anti-bank — go for gold and silver, &c. They forget, in their zeal, that they are issuing, or at least circulating, paper as money, some of which is not even authorized by any law, but is against law — they forget, in their great anxiety for the welfare of the Democratic party, that the Democratic Conventions of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois all authorized banking, and they forget, too, that during the last winter the Democratic Legislature of Wisconsin increased the banking capital of that State many millions!

The Convention evidently intended, if the people hereafter desire a banking system, that it should be one which should protect the bill-holders. This is right, for they are persons who need and deserve protection. I think the provisions on this subject are salutary, and believe they will meet the approbation of all who desire a safe currency.

Many of the prominent Democrats of the State are against Nebraska banking, and, I understand the article on Corporations was voted for nearly unanimously in the Convention, only three or four old fossils, belonging to the "age of the drift," going against it.

Copies of the new Constitution are being distributed, and I find, as people examine it, they are generally pleased with its provisions. It is not expected that it will be acceptable in every particular. If as a whole it is satisfactory, it is all one can ask.



Notwithstanding the assumption of leadership of a few of the "hard money" (?) presses, and their attempts to make a party question of the vote on the new Constitution, they will fail in their efforts, as many of the oldest and strongest Democrats of the State are openly in favor of its adoption.

I think there is no doubt of its success by at least twenty thousand majority.

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Letter signed "Burroughs" in *ibid.*, July 29, 1857:

THE NEW CONSTITUTION — SHALL IT BE ADOPTED?

The general feeling of our State has been, for years, in favor of a fundamental law adopted and fitted to our expanding condition. Hence, the Convention was called in spite of the barriers of the old Constitution, by an overwhelming majority. This Convention met last February at our Capitol. No better body of men ever assembled at our Capitol than went into this Convention. The oldest settlers of our territory, the founders of the State, men whose voices and counsels have been heard in halls of legislation and swayed the decision of the Judicial department of our State much of the time she has had an existence, were there; others too, formerly private citizens, whose business capacity and wisdom have secured the unbounded confidence of their fellow citizens, came up together bringing the industry, honesty and skill of successful private enterprise into public action. Hall, Johnstone, Gillaspie, Day, Harris, and Solomon, with Springer, Bunker, Parvin, the Clarks, Wilson, Skiff, Todhunter, Ells, and others, give us an array of names of all parties and all honest occupations of which the State may well be proud. After mature deliberation, these men, with *singular unanimity*, present a plan upon which you are called to pass your verdict. Consider first the objections of those who oppose it; and 1st, It contains "special legislation," says one sapient editor, who gathers his cue from the very disinterested *Henn* that is now nursing a very prolific brood of wild cats, which our new Constitution would slay at one fell swoop. As an instance of "special legislation" this editor quotes Section 4 — "Bill of Rights" — as follows: "And any party to any judicial proceeding shall have the right to use as a witness, or take the testimony of, any other person, not disqualified on account of interest, who may be cognizant to any fact material to the case." "This was done," says Scholte of the *Pella Gazette*, "to admit negroes and Indians as witnesses against white men, a

provision which places the life, liberty, and property of the whites at the mercy of Indians and negroes." Had this astute editor learned his a-b-c of American institutions, he would know that *no honest man holds life, liberty, or property by virtue of mercy of any witness, white, red, or black.* Courts are established, our government supported "to maintain justice." We ask of *witnesses the truth, of juries justice, of God only, mercy;* and whoso seeks to make a suit in Court a game of *hard swearing*, not only ruins his own cause but also may find his own liberty hedged in by iron bars. To give or withhold testimony is *no man's prerogative.* It is the duty of Courts, and the privilege of suitors to follow out and detect the truth through the fogs of ignorance, the bewilderings of folly, and the mazes of knavery. To do this successfully, we question with the chemist's art, and microscopic skill, the material universe; we examine the instincts of the brute creation, and gather in the widest scope and range of human knowledge. This is common sense and ordinary justice, yet these are lost sight of by the slave drivers besotted today, and the insensate cry of "niggerism," "woolies," "amalgamation," is relied upon to drive people from the real issue involved in the contest. Sections 9 and 10 — Bill of Rights — guarantee that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or happiness, without due process of law, and gives to every man in cases involving life or liberty, an impartial trial by jury. This, to our Fourth-of-July-liberty-loving objector, is rank with nullification, because inconsistent with the Fugitive Slave Law. There is the rub is it? Now might it not be possible that the provisions of this slave law is [*sic*] *inconsistent with our rights?* Would you be willing to put yourself, or your child, among strangers, at the mercy of unprincipled slave hounds, to be hurled by *summary process* from all the inalienable rights you boast to be your own, without trial by jury, into endless hopeless bondage? May not justice and freedom have equal claims to *constitutionality*, and consistency, with oppression and slavery? I will not pause to consider now the objection to the alteration in our school system, only to say that while the old plan is expensive and inefficient as the few years past proves, the new is much more economical and safe. I believe it will be found thorough and practical in its working.

A fourth objection is the increased pay of officers. When our old Constitution was adopted wheat was worth 37 to 50 cts per bushel, and other things in proportion, and the farmer who made \$1 per day from his farm was satisfied. Now all expenses are doubled, the labor of the citizen is

twice as remunerative. Is an addition of 50 per cent extravagant to the wages of public officers? Many of these officers have more than twice the labor once attached to these offices at twice the cost. I know that no man fit to represent thrifty hawkeyes can leave his business and serve a term in the Legislature at \$3 per day and save anything.

As to the 5th objection to Banking privileges, I would say that the people have passed upon this in voting the Convention. A noisy clamor for popular sovereignty has but an indifferent comment in your objection to the submission of a banking system to a popular vote. One leading politician of the State owns one Nebraska pet and another located down in Hoosierdom. He advertizes to redeem these notes in current Bank paper in the morning. He takes \$1000 of Nebraska money and pays out the cat skins of Indiana. After dinner his Hoosier bank notes come back and out goes again the Nebraska kittens, leaving a credulous public at night just where it started in the morning; a *disinterested cackler that*, against allowing the people to choose their Bank issues.

The question of striking out "white" from the article on suffrage, though no part of the Constitution, unless made so by the people, creates a wonderful furor. Notwithstanding, Democratic Michigan and *ultra* Democratic Illinois submitted the same vote, one would think that the idea was born of modern black amalgamation Republicans. We might suppose that "par excellence" popular sovereigns might submit *even this* to the vote of the people, especially when it is so evident that the proposition will be lost; but so holy is the horror of these Don Quixots [*sic*] at all *tho'ts of amalga-mation* (and they can't help thinking of it when the subject of "niggers" is mentioned,) unless between the brutal master and his chained serf, so that the infamous offspring can be sold by its father, that their own pet doctrine must go to the wall for the sake of amalgamation in the patriarchal and christian order.

The new Constitution was adopted with singular unanimity in Convention. It provides for needed amendments by submission to the people without the expense of another Convention, and it is changed and fitted to our growing and expanding State, and is in harmony with the spirit of freedom and progress. No work of man is perfect; yet, a work so far in advance of the old Constitution, will not surely be rejected by an intelligent constituency. . . .

From the *Montezuma Republican* (Republican), May 30, 1857:

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The *Ottumwa Courier* in speaking of the new Constitution and the war waged against it by the pro-slavery democracy, says: "The sham-Democracy are making prodigious efforts to defeat the new Constitution. There is a furious storm; the political elements are let loose, and there is a commotion in the political world as dire as was that among the elements of nature on Friday last. Some of us are naturally enough surprised at all this, and put ourselves to some trouble to discover the wherefore of the storm. We must acknowledge that we have groped considerably in the dark and have been in pursuit of knowledge under great difficulties, but so far as our researches have as yet extended, this fact is established, namely: that the Constitution itself is all right, acceptable generally to the "nationals." The provision in regards to Banks is one of the most important of the changes in the Constitution, and there is no extensive organized opposition to this provision. And so with most of the new features in the Constitution. They do not please all, but they are not sufficiently objectionable to call forth an open and systematic opposition to the Constitution itself. It is true some of the sham Democratic journals occasionally make furious attacks upon the Constitution, with a mighty flourish of trumpets, and sometimes apparently are about to annihilate the thing. Some of them, among the rest our neighbor, the *Fairfield Sentinel*, vow strenuously that they are against it in toto, that they are opposed to it, in their own classic phrase, from "head to tail," and when we set out to read one of their articles, we always expect to see the Constitution beheaded and curtailed, and its body otherwise horribly mutilated, but when the very worst is done, nothing is damaged but the tail, no other part is vulnerable; indeed, there has been no blow aimed except at the tail. Aye, it is a fact; the valiant Democracy can do nothing but batter and bag away at the caudal appendage of the new Constitution. Nevertheless, they have raised a storm; and a furious one, and it rages with increasing fury from day to day. — On the political heavens otherwise so clear, there is a cloud, a *black* cloud. — That famous, that awful, and most terrible "codicil!" It is the spirit of this "pitiless storm."

Let us see what there is about this "codicil" so awful, with what fiendish qualities it is endowed that it should be able to raise such a dreadful commotion. In the schedule to the new Constitution there is a provision that,



when the people vote on its adoption, they may also vote on a provision to strike out the word "white" from the article defining the qualifications of voters. This is the head and front of the offending, simply giving the people an opportunity to vote upon a certain proposition. If in the Constitution the word "white" had been stricken out, and the instrument had been presented to the people in that shape for their adoption or rejection, this furious opposition to the Constitution would be reasonable, and there would have been some pertinency in all the objurgations and dismal croakings in which the shammites are indulging. But as the question now stands, there is not the slightest excuse for the course which the Democracy are pursuing, and their strenuous efforts to make the question of the adoption of the Constitution a party question are unnecessary and uncalled for. The demagogical arts of the sham-Democracy are more conspicuous, if possible, in this business than usual. In the first place, they sought to make the people believe that the provision to strike out the word "white" was a part of the new Constitution, and when this falsehood became bare, and the people got to understanding it, they turned their attention to the work of forcing upon the people the belief that the "codicil" was essential to the Constitution, and that a consistent support of one involved the support of the other. Now, all this is transparent humbuggery. It is only a feint, by means of which it is hoped to damage the new Constitution. These sham-Democratic leaders are a desperate set, and do not scruple to resort to desperate measures in order to accomplish any party purpose. And it is by means inconsistent with their tactics and wire-working schemes, to make all sorts of insidious and covert attacks upon the measures of their opponents. Of this character is the warfare they wage upon the new Constitution. In secret opposed to Banks and other features of the Constitution, they are afraid to avow it openly through fear of its unpopularity. — Hence the subterfuge. They strike all manner of furious blows at the "codicil," all the while intending that they shall hit banks. If they are opposed to the new Constitution there is a way in which to manifest that opposition. The Constitution is separate and distinct from the "codicil," — they are to be voted upon separately, and a man can vote in favor of the Constitution and against the "codicil" if he chooses to do so. Then why cannot there be an honest opposition to the Constitution? If there are any objections to its provisions, let them be made known; let it be discussed fairly and thoroughly; let the opposition tear it to flinders if they can. But

on the other hand, if it is a good Constitution, if its provisions are calculated to advance the interests and promote the welfare of our noble young State, let it be adopted. There is no need that the "codicil" should destroy it. The democracy can oppose that to their heart's content, and yet favor the Constitution. They may vote against it in solid array, and in this they will doubtless be joined by the great body of the Republican party; the "codicil" may be voted down by an overwhelming majority, and the Constitution may be voted up by a like majority, and there will be nothing inconsistent in it. Let there be fairness in the business. It is not meet that the interests of Iowa, her welfare, and the development of her greatness should be hindered by a petty political squabble. We care not how many dire anathemas are thundered against the "codicil," it is at the best an unnecessary appendage, and we have no sympathy for it; but in the name of candor and truth, let the new Constitution be dealt with fairly, and as it deserves. We ask no more than that.

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From *ibid.*, June 13, 1857 (quoting the *Iowa City Republican*) :

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

We must insist that the few rabid journals in the ranks of the Slave Democracy that are trying to get up party feeling against a Constitution, nearly all the provisions of which were adopted by an almost unanimous vote in the Convention, advance some objections better grounded, than those they have thus far specified. To object to the Bill of Rights, because it reiterates the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, — that "all men are, by nature, free and equal," — is the very essence of stupidity; for it will inevitably secure votes among the freemen of Iowa, who are supposed to have some respect yet for that good old declaration. To object to giving the citizens of the State the privilege of voting whether franchise shall be extended to all citizens, or confined to whites only, is another blunder; because the voters of Iowa suppose themselves capable of deciding this question justly; and imagine that the right to decide it really belongs to them. The people are too jealous of their prerogatives, to regard favorably a position that implies a censure of the Constitutional Convention for confiding power in their hands. To object to the Constitution because it permits the people of Iowa to establish a Banking System of their own instead of being longer dependent upon the neighboring States and Territories for a Currency, over which they have no control, and which they cannot ex-

clude, is to run right in the face of that universal public conviction that led to the demand for a Constitutional Convention. To intimate that the Banking feature is too closely restricted, is to honor the fidelity of those who controlled the Convention; showing that they, at least, were not Bank-bought; and that they justly regard it as the first duty of a state that permits Banks of Issue, to provide for the safety of the bill-holder.

The last, however, and the most unfortunate objection yet advanced to the New Constitution, is that it provides for the education of all the children of the State. The justice and wisdom of such a proposition, would seem past controversy; self-evident. But, in their intense hatred of the colored man, a few of the more rabid journals of the pro slavery school, pretend to see in this annunciation of a general principle, a forerunner to a statutory provision compelling whites and blacks to attend the same schools and receive their education in common. Is this not trenching a little too far upon public credulity? Objectors to the new constitution may have a low estimate of public intelligence, but they ought not to reveal the fact so glaringly. There is not a voter of ordinary intelligence in the State, who will fail to see that the Constitution leaves it entirely to the Legislature to regulate the details of the School System, to say how and under what circumstances education shall be bestowed; confining itself to a mere declaration of the general principle, that it is not wise to deny the benefits of education to any intelligent being whose lot is cast within the limits of the State.

# STATE SUPPORT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN IOWA

By *Irving H. Hart\**

The interest of the pioneers of Iowa in higher education is evinced by a number of acts of the territorial Legislative Assemblies between 1838 and 1846. These acts authorized the incorporation of private "seminaries of learning in science and literature for the youth of both sexes" in twenty-eight towns and villages of the Territory. In many instances, the acts of incorporation reflected no more than the desire of certain people in these communities to provide facilities for the education of their young people in schools of higher grade than the elementary schools of the day. Many of the institutions envisaged by their sponsors never came into being, but a few, notably those at Davenport, Mount Pleasant, Denmark, and Washington, resulted in the establishment of colleges or academies which continued for many years.<sup>1</sup>

The people of Iowa were, however, the inheritors of the idea that it was a fundamental obligation of the general government, both federal and state, to make provision for higher education. This idea had first found formal expression in an ordinance passed by the Continental Congress supplementing the famous Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and setting aside, in addition to a section in each township for the maintenance of common schools, two townships (46,080 acres) "for the support of a university."<sup>2</sup> Similar reservations of public lands for the support of a university were made by the Congress of the United States in the acts preliminary to the organization of the five states carved out of the original Northwest Territory. By the act for the organization of the Territory of Iowa in 1838, its citizens were guaranteed the rights and privileges previously enjoyed by the citizens of Wisconsin, of which Iowa had been a part.<sup>3</sup> Later, Congress confirmed one of these rights by granting to Iowa Territory the customary two town-

\*Irving H. Hart is archivist at Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls.

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Iowa Territory, 1838-1846, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Continental Congress*, Vol. 33, p. 400 (July 23, 1787).

<sup>3</sup> 5 U. S. Statutes at Large, 235 (June 12, 1838).



ships for the support of a university.<sup>4</sup> By a subsequent act, Congress confirmed this university grant and added a grant of five sections of public land to be used for the erection of public buildings or as the legislature might direct.<sup>5</sup>

Iowa's first state constitution (1846) charged the General Assembly with responsibility for the protection of the university fund, which was to be applied to the support "of a university with such branches as public convenience should thereafter demand and as might be authorized in terms of the Congressional grant."<sup>6</sup>

The First General Assembly, with confident faith in the future, established the State University at Iowa City. Since commissioners had been appointed to select another site for the state capital, the public buildings with ten acres of land in Iowa City and the two townships granted by Congress were donated to the University. The University lands were authorized to be disposed of as already provided for the common school lands (at a minimum price of \$1.25 an acre), and the fund thus derived was ordered to be deposited with the State Treasurer to be loaned by him and the interest only to be paid to the University trustees. This act also incorporated the constitutional provision that there might be established "such branches [of the University] as in the opinion of the General Assembly convenience may hereafter require."<sup>7</sup>

The creation of the University fund was delayed by the failure of the federal government to provide for the selection of these lands, even though the territorial Legislative Assemblies had twice made formal request of Congress for such action.<sup>8</sup> Eventually by far the greater part of the University lands were selected; but the process had not been entirely completed by 1862, when the General Assembly authorized the Governor to select "the remaining 127.6 acres of the university grant of July 20, 1840."<sup>9</sup>

Of the selection and sale of the University lands, Leonard F. Parker, a

<sup>4</sup> 6 *ibid.*, 810 (July 20, 1840).

<sup>5</sup> 5 *ibid.*, 789 (Mar. 3, 1845).

<sup>6</sup> Constitution of Iowa (1846), Article X, Sec. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, Chap. 125 (Feb. 25, 1847).

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of Iowa Territory, 1843-1844*, Resolution No. 14 (Feb. 10, 1844); *ibid.*, 1845-1846, Resolution No. 20 (Jan. 2, 1846).

<sup>9</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1862*, Chap. 126 (Apr. 7, 1862). See Hugh S. Buffum, "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 4: 554-78 (October, 1906), for an extended treatment of this topic.

member of the University Board of Trustees from 1859 to 1862 and of the University faculty from 1870 to 1887, says that the fixing of the low price of \$1.25 an acre created a demand for the University lands which the trustees attempted to forestall: first, by appraising them above their current market value; and second, by making purchases of certain of these lands themselves, as individuals, above the appraised value. The Attorney General, however, pronounced those purchases invalid. These efforts to bolster the price of the University lands seem to have been measurably successful; in October, 1859, the trustees found that 31,411-1/3 acres (68 per cent of the entire grant) had been sold for \$110,582.75, an average of \$3.52 an acre.<sup>10</sup>

Early Iowa legislators gave little consideration to the desirability of centralization of support of the as yet embryo University. The General Assembly in 1849 authorized the organization of two branches of the University, one at Fairfield and one at Dubuque, both "to be placed on the same footing as to funds" as the University at Iowa City.<sup>11</sup> The same legislature established state normal schools at Mount Pleasant, Andrew, and Oskaloosa and directed that the sum of \$500 be paid annually from the University fund to each of these schools.<sup>12</sup> By later acts, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk was recognized as the medical department (not a branch) of the University.<sup>13</sup>

This policy of decentralization of higher education in Iowa was not approved by Thomas H. Benton, Superintendent of Public Instruction, who was then ex officio president of the University Board of Trustees. In his 1850 report, he estimated the probable income from the University fund, less the amount pledged to the normal schools, to be annually only about \$1,500 each for the support of the University and its two branches, an amount "not to be regarded as a very rich endowment for an institution dignified with the title of State University." Benton suggested that a defi-

<sup>10</sup> L. F. Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa* (Circular No. 6, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1893), 76. This decision of the Attorney General was later confirmed by the General Assembly by a joint resolution (*Laws of Iowa, 1857*, Resolution No. 23). Some other writers have put a less favorable construction upon the motives of the Board of Trustees in this matter. The character and record of Parker are such as to give much weight to his statement.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849*, Chaps. 114, 115, 117 (Jan. 15, 16, 1849).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 78 (Jan. 15, 1849).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1850-1851, Chap. 39 (Jan. 18, 1851); *ibid.*, 1854-1855, Chap. 55 (Jan. 22, 1855).

nite sum be set apart for each of these branches, "of which they should have exclusive control, without any further connection with or claim upon the University."<sup>14</sup> This wise advice was not followed.

The citizens of Fairfield, by voluntary contributions, raised sufficient money to purchase twenty acres of land which they donated to the state for the site of their University branch, and they also built a building for its use. This building, destroyed by a "hurricane" in 1850, was rebuilt again by voluntary contributions. The normal schools at Andrew and Oskaloosa actually began operation and continued for several years. No serious efforts seem to have been made to organize the University branch at Dubuque or the normal school at Mount Pleasant. Since no aid was ever received from the state or from the University fund by any of these projected institutions, they soon disappeared from the scene. The legislature, however, did take cognizance of the steps taken by the Fairfield citizens by authorizing the trustees of this University branch to sell its property and (it is assumed) to reimburse the contributors to this project.<sup>15</sup>

Governor James W. Grimes took the decisive step that brought to an end the ill-advised policy of division of the University fund. The General Assembly in 1857 passed a bill proposing to grant \$5,000 from the interest on the fund for the relief of the medical department of the University at Keokuk. Governor Grimes vetoed this bill in a message in which he characterized the proposal as "an unwarrantable diversion of the university fund and a violation of the Act of Congress granting the land from which the fund is derived." He defined the term "university" as meaning "an assembly of colleges established in a town or city," and as not applicable to colleges scattered among several municipalities. He held that the Act of Congress applied to one institution only and that not even the state constitution could override the laws of Congress. "The Assembly," he said, "cannot dissever the institution." The Governor criticized the legislative attempts "to fritter away the university fund." He said that he had "hesitantly approved" the bill directing the payment of money from the University fund to the normal schools, and that he had advised the University trustees not to draw these orders unless required to do so by writ of man-

<sup>14</sup> *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . .* (Iowa City, 1850).

<sup>15</sup> C. W. Slagle, "Report of the President of the State University," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1878, Vol. I.

damus. No such writ had been issued. This veto killed the proposal to aid the Keokuk institution and effectively supported the idea of the indivisibility of the State University.<sup>16</sup>

The idea advanced so ably and so courageously by Governor Grimes was shortly thereafter embodied in the new state constitution of 1857 in the provision that "The State University shall be established at one place without branches and the University fund shall be applied to that Institution and no other."<sup>17</sup>

The general school law, passed March 12, 1858, reaffirmed the establishment of the University at Iowa City and the grant to it of the old capitol building with the ten acres of land on which it was situated, and provided for the organization of the institution.<sup>18</sup> The State Supreme Court held this act to be unconstitutional,<sup>19</sup> but the newly created state Board of Education adopted a similar act for the government and regulation of the University in December of the same year.<sup>20</sup> The new Board of Trustees created by this latter act voted to continue the normal department of the University, which had been in operation since 1855; but in consideration of the fact that in February, 1859, "only \$1,239 [was] available for current expenses, though \$9,730 more was due but in the extreme prostration of all business was then uncollectable," it was deemed unwise at that time to attempt to organize the collegiate department.<sup>21</sup>

It seems originally to have been assumed, especially in legislative circles, that the University should look to the income from its federal endowment fund for current support and that the responsibility of the state for financing the institution should be limited to furnishing the money needed to erect buildings and keep them in repair. The first act by which money was appropriated for the University by the state was that of March 11, 1858, by which \$3,000 was made available for repairing and modifying the former capitol building for classroom use and \$10,000 for the erection of a new building to be used for a boarding hall, study rooms, and dormitories.

<sup>16</sup> Benj. F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 2:78.

<sup>17</sup> Constitution of Iowa (1857), Article IX, Part I, Sec. 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1858*, Chap. 52. Des Moines had been designated as the new state capital in 1855.

<sup>19</sup> 7 *Iowa Reports*, 262 (Dec. 9, 1858).

<sup>20</sup> *Revised Statutes of Iowa, 1860*, 342.

<sup>21</sup> Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa*, 85.



Under this act the construction of what came to be known as South Hall began.<sup>22</sup> The amount available proved to be inadequate, and two years later the General Assembly added certain saline lands to the University grant and authorized the trustees to expend a part of the proceeds of the sale of these lands for repairing and refitting the main building and for the completion of South Hall.<sup>23</sup>

Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, in January, 1862, reported that the University was in successful operation but that it was embarrassed for want of funds because of large losses on insufficiently secured loans made before the crisis of 1857.<sup>24</sup> The Assembly responded by a bill proposing to reduce the number of professors and their individual salaries and to increase the amount of the student fees. This bill was vetoed by Governor Kirkwood on the grounds that the proposed salaries were too low and the fees too high and that such matters should be decided by the trustees.<sup>25</sup>

Increase in enrollment at the University made additional building space an imperative need, and in 1864 an appropriation of \$20,000 was made for the construction of "a building with one large room for a chapel and rooms suitable for a chemical laboratory and others as deemed necessary by the trustees."<sup>26</sup> With this money, the construction of North Hall was begun. In 1866 the Eleventh General Assembly made an additional appropriation of \$13,000 to complete this building.<sup>27</sup>

In 1866 Governor William M. Stone said, "The State University is meeting with gratifying success. The largely increased attendance, magnificent endowment, central location and complete faculty insure a usefulness and renown equal to the famous seats of learning in the older states."<sup>28</sup> That this optimistic attitude was not wholly justified and that the "magnificent endowment" was inadequate is evident from Governor Stone's message of two years later, in which he said, "A peculiar obligation is imposed upon the state by the fact that the endowment of the University is not adequate to its current needs."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1858*, Chap. 41 (Mar. 11, 1858).

<sup>23</sup> *Revised Statutes of Iowa, 1860*, 346.

<sup>24</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 2:264.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:366.

<sup>26</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1864*, Chap. 73 (Mar. 29, 1864).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1866, Chap. 84 (Mar. 31, 1866).

<sup>28</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 3:42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:90.

To this, the Twelfth General Assembly (1868) responded by passing the first act by which an appropriation was made for current support of the University in the sum of \$20,000 "for giving such aid to the science and other departments as the trustees shall deem proper to establish and increase their efficiency."<sup>30</sup> The Thirteenth General Assembly (1870) continued the policy initiated by its predecessor by appropriating \$25,000 "for the use and support of the University for the next two years."<sup>31</sup> This Assembly also passed a new act for the government of the University, changing the name of the governing body to the "Board of Regents" and its composition to six elected members, with the Governor of the state ex officio chairman and the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the president of the University ex officio members. By this act also the regents were prohibited from using any portion of the permanent fund for ordinary expenses.<sup>32</sup>

In January, 1872, Governor Samuel Merrill recommended the appropriation of funds to supply the University with a permanent income in addition to that from the original endowment, the first suggestion of a policy which was later to be adopted.<sup>33</sup> The Fourteenth General Assembly (1872) ignored the Governor's recommendation as to permanent support, but it did make an appropriation of \$52,300 for salaries, repairs, and contingent expenses for the biennium.<sup>34</sup> The recommendation for providing a permanent income from appropriations was renewed by Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter in 1874,<sup>35</sup> but the legislative appropriation "to aid in the support of the University in all its chairs and departments and the expenses necessary for the maintenance of this institution" was made for the biennium only.<sup>36</sup> Governor Carpenter enlarged upon this recommendation in his message to the Sixteenth General Assembly in 1876, in which he referred to the growth and widening popularity of the institution, pointing out that the University should be enlarged beyond the income of the grant for its support; that when the grant was made it was supposed to be sufficient for

<sup>30</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1868*, Chap. 23 (Mar. 9, 1868).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 1870, Chap. 36 (Mar. 24, 1870).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 87 (Apr. 11, 1870).

<sup>33</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 3:330.

<sup>34</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1872*, Chap. 43 (Apr. 6, 1872).

<sup>35</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 4:31.

<sup>36</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1874*, Chap. 65 (Mar. 18, 1874).

all its wants, but that the lands had been sold at approximately \$3.00 an acre; and hence that "the state is bound to make good the conditions upon which this trust was accepted." He suggested a special levy of 1/10 or 1/5 mill as a permanent fund for the University.<sup>37</sup> The Assembly took no specific action upon this recommendation but continued the policy of making a biennial appropriation "for aid and maintenance" of the University.<sup>38</sup>

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would seem proper to credit Governors Merrill and Carpenter with being the first officially to advocate the policy of continuing support for the University. No recommendation of such a policy is found in the biennial reports of the Board of Regents of the University until 1877, although it may have been discussed informally at an earlier date. If so, the Governors, as ex officio presidents of the Board of Regents after 1870, would have been in a position to develop convictions on this question. It was Governor Joshua G. Newbold, in the report of the Regents in 1877, who first suggested at their instance the consideration of some policy of permanent support, "if they [the Regents] could have reliance of a certain amount to be received annually, it would greatly facilitate the making of plans for the development of the work."<sup>39</sup> Governor John H. Gear in his inaugural address in 1878 added his influence to the proposal to make the support of the University through continuing appropriations a matter of legislative responsibility.<sup>40</sup>

These repeated recommendations at length elicited a positive response from the Assembly, which in 1878 appropriated \$20,000 annually for the University "as an endowment fund, \$5,000 on July 1, 1878, and the same sum quarterly thereafter." To this was added \$10,000 for two years for other purposes.<sup>41</sup> The passage of this act provided a continuing annual income of \$20,000. No additional appropriations, either for "endowment" or for biennial support of the University, were made by the Eighteenth General Assembly in 1880. The Nineteenth Assembly in 1882 appropriated \$30,000 for a new building, \$10,000 "in aid of the income fund," and other amounts for the biennium only.<sup>42</sup> In 1884 the permanent annual in-

<sup>37</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 4:124.

<sup>38</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1876*, Chap. 168 (Mar. 17, 1876).

<sup>39</sup> *Report of the Board of Regents of the State University* (Des Moines, 1877).

<sup>40</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 5:5.

<sup>41</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1878*, Chap. 76 (Apr. 6, 1878).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 1882, Chap. 84 (Mar. 14, 1882).

come fund was increased by \$8,000.<sup>43</sup> In 1886 Governor Buren R. Sherman called attention to the request of the Regents for an increase in the endowment fund and recommended a special tax of 1/8 mill.<sup>44</sup> The appropriations were for the biennium only.<sup>45</sup>

Governor William Larrabee in his final message in 1890 said that there was no reason why Iowa should not maintain a University on a distinctly higher plane than that of a mere college. He then suggested that a sufficient income for the University's support be provided "either by a special levy or a fixed appropriation," adding "I do not know how a quarter of a million dollars could annually be spent to better advantage."<sup>46</sup>

Governor Horace Boies, the first Democratic Governor of Iowa after 1854, proved to be a good friend of the institutions of higher learning. In his inaugural address in 1890 he characterized the University permanent funds as wholly inadequate, and he recommended the permanent support of all the schools aided by the state. He said also in his message in 1892, "The revenues should be made reasonably certain. They should not be required to beg from year to year for the means of subsistence. It is the plain duty of the legislature to provide for the annual levy of a special tax, the proceeds to be devoted to the maintenance of the State University, the Agricultural College and the State Normal School in such proportion as is just to each."<sup>47</sup>

It is to be noted that it was Governor Boies who first joined the Agricultural College and the Normal School with the University in his recommendations for permanent support. The legislative response to this proposal was immediately favorable in the case of the Normal School; a "permanent endowment" of \$17,500 annually was authorized for this institution in 1890 and \$3,000 additional in 1892.<sup>48</sup> Similar action in behalf of the State College at Ames was delayed until 1894.

The Republican party returned to full control of the state government in 1894, and the favorable attitude which the state legislatures had begun to

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1884, Chap. 115 (Apr. 1, 1884).

<sup>44</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 5:328.

<sup>45</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1886, Chap. 68 (Apr. 15, 1886).

<sup>46</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 6:132. It was to be more than twenty years before such an amount was to be appropriated for University support.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 6:282, 304.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1890, Chap. 79 (Apr. 16, 1890); *ibid.*, 1892, Chap. 102 (Apr. 9, 1892).



assume toward the state colleges continued. The Twenty-fifth General Assembly (1894) increased the permanent annual income of the State University by \$25,000, and brought the Agricultural College for the first time into the same category by appropriating \$15,000 "annually hereafter" for general expenses.<sup>49</sup>

The State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts had come into being (on paper) by an act of the Seventh General Assembly in 1858, by which the establishment of a college with a course of study including "natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, horticulture, fruit growing, forestry, animal and vegetable anatomy, geology, mineralogy, entomology, zoology, veterinary art, mensuration, levelling, surveying, book-keeping, and such other mechanical arts as are connected with agriculture," and with a "model farm." For the physical plant of the new institution, an appropriation of \$10,000 was made, together with the proceeds of the sale of the five sections of land granted by Congress in 1845 for the erection of public buildings "or as the legislature may direct."<sup>50</sup> In taking this action, the legislature chose to ignore a recommendation made by Governor Grimes in 1854 to the effect that it would not be sound policy to establish from the proceeds of the University fund "a literary institution in rivalry with the various denominational colleges [then] struggling into existence." As Grimes saw it, the state had a greater need for a "practical scientific or polytechnic school," in which "farmers, mechanics, engineers, architects, chemists, metallurgists and geologists" might be educated.<sup>51</sup> The Iowa legislature of 1858 may have been influenced in establishing an institution of this type by Justin Morrill of Vermont, who, in December, 1857, introduced into the national House of Representatives a bill proposing the donation of public lands to states that would provide colleges "for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts." This bill was passed by Congress but vetoed by President James Buchanan on the grounds that it would be uneconomical, that it might encourage fraudulent speculation, that it would injure existing

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 1894, Chaps. 145, 152 (Mar. 29, 1894). The permanent appropriations for Iowa State College in 1894 were the first of this type for current expenses. Relatively small amounts had previously been appropriated for this institution on the "annually hereafter" basis; \$1,000 in 1880 for repairs; \$1,500 in 1882 for experimentation in agriculture and horticulture; and \$2,000 in 1888 for improvements on buildings. *Ibid.*, 1880, Chap. 67; *ibid.*, 1882, Chap. 68; *ibid.*, 1888, Chap. 126.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1858, Chap. 91 (Mar. 23, 1858); 5 U. S. Statutes at Large, 789.

<sup>51</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 2:6.

institutions, that it would cause friction between the states, and that it was unconstitutional.<sup>52</sup> A similar bill, introduced in 1861, passed both houses of Congress and was signed by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.<sup>53</sup>

By this act, known as the Morrill Land Grant Act, the federal government was pledged to donate to each state providing for the establishment of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts 30,000 acres of public lands for each Senator and Representative in Congress under the apportionment based on the census of 1860. Iowa, with six Representatives and two Senators, became eligible to receive as an endowment for the support of such an institution a total of 240,000 acres of land. This grant was accepted by the Ninth General Assembly in extra session in September, 1862,<sup>54</sup> but nothing more was done at that time than to notify the Trustees of the Agricultural College of this action. Governor Kirkwood called attention to this grant in a message to the Tenth General Assembly in 1864, referring to it as "a rich endowment, five times as large as that for the University." He called attention also to the important fact that to secure the grant, funds must be provided by the state for the erection of buildings.<sup>55</sup> This Assembly formally granted the lands received by the Morrill Act to the Agricultural College, authorized the Trustees to sell these lands at not less than \$3.00 an acre (but not before April, 1866), and took like action with regard to the sale of the five sections granted by Congress to aid in the construction of public buildings, which had been added to the endowment of this institution in 1858.<sup>56</sup> An appropriation of \$20,000 was also made to aid in the erection of a building for the College, the total cost of which was not to exceed \$50,000.<sup>57</sup>

That conditions following the Civil War were not dissimilar to those following later wars is obvious from the message of Governor Stone in 1866, calling attention to the interruption of work upon the building for the Agricultural College "by unexpected and exorbitant increases in costs of labor and materials." Noting that the period of five years within which, by act of Congress, the state was required to provide such a college was

<sup>52</sup> Monroe, *Encyclopedia of Education*, 1:59.

<sup>53</sup> 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, 503.

<sup>54</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862 (extra session), Chap. 26 (Sept. 11, 1862).

<sup>55</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 2:319.

<sup>56</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, Chap. 117 (Mar. 29, 1864).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 62 (Mar. 22, 1864).

about to expire, Stone said, "To lose this donation by neglect would be a disgrace upon the state." He recommended an appropriation adequate for the completion of the building "within the time fixed by the grant."<sup>58</sup> An appropriation of \$91,000 was made for this purpose,<sup>59</sup> and the building was completed in time to enable Iowa to take advantage of the grant. The College was opened in October, 1868; the new building was dedicated on March 17, 1869.<sup>60</sup>

From the date of the establishment of the Agricultural College and for a quarter of a century thereafter, it was assumed that the income from the proceeds of the federal land grant would be sufficient for current institutional support. Appropriations were made biennially for capital expenditures, although it evidently took some prodding to get the legislature to do even this. Governor Gear in 1880 reminded the Assembly of the conditions of the congressional grant (that the state erect and maintain the buildings necessary for the College), and urged the duty of enabling the state to fulfill its contract with the federal government.<sup>61</sup> The immediate appropriation proved inadequate, and again in 1882 Governor Gear told the legislature that the erection of buildings needed by the College should be commenced at once.<sup>62</sup> An appropriation of \$20,000 for building purposes was the response to this appeal.<sup>63</sup> After 1890 Iowa began to make provision for a building program to keep pace with the rapidly expanding institution at Ames.

In 1877 and again in 1890 Congress passed acts making additional appropriations of federal funds for the support of the land-grant colleges,<sup>64</sup> which may account in part for the fact that the Iowa legislature made no material additions to the Iowa State College support fund until 1894. After 1894 the Iowa State College shared with the other state educational institutions in the receipt of support funds appropriated biennially.

By 1894, therefore, the General Assemblies of Iowa had come to accept two principles of policy repeatedly recommended by the Governors: that

<sup>58</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 3:42.

<sup>59</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, Chap. 112 (Apr. 2, 1866).

<sup>60</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 3:262.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:21.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:100.

<sup>63</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1882, Chap. 78 (Mar. 14, 1882).

<sup>64</sup> 24 U. S. Statutes at Large, 440; 26 *ibid.*, 417.

the state was obligated to provide for the current support of the three state educational institutions; and that such support should be in part in the form of "permanent" or continuing appropriations.

The repeated recommendations of a millage tax for the support of higher education resulted finally in 1896 in an act providing for a levy of a tax of 1/10 mill for five years for the erection, improvement, and equipment of buildings at the State University.<sup>65</sup> In 1898 this levy was extended for one additional year because of the burning of the University library building.<sup>66</sup> In 1902 an act was passed setting aside the proceeds of annual millage levies for each of the three institutions — 1/5 mill each for the University and the Agricultural College, and 1/10 mill for the Normal School. These levies were to continue for five years, and the money so raised was to be used for the erection, improvement, and repair of buildings.<sup>67</sup> Before the expiration of these acts in 1906, a similar act was passed continuing the same millage levies for another five years.<sup>68</sup> The millage levies were again renewed for five years in 1911 on the same basis as before for each institution.<sup>69</sup> In 1913 a special levy of 1/2 mill for two years was authorized for the support of agricultural extension work and the work of certain departments in the Iowa State College.<sup>70</sup>

In 1915 the General Assembly repealed the statute authorizing millage levies, provided for the levy of special taxes on property for building purposes in the state educational institutions in the amounts of \$300,000 each for the biennium for the State University and Iowa State College, and \$150,000 for the Iowa State Teachers College (formerly the Normal School), and required the transfer of the proceeds of the millage taxes of 1915 to the state general fund.<sup>71</sup> Since 1915 no millage levies have been authorized for these institutions. Direct biennial appropriations for building purposes in all the institutions have been made in lieu thereof.

In this review of legislative acts and policies for the support of higher education in Iowa, only incidental consideration has thus far been given to

<sup>65</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1896, Chap. 114 (Mar. 17, 1896).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898, Chap. 75 (Apr. 7, 1898).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 1902, Chap. 117 (Apr. 9, 1902).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, Chap. 186 (Apr. 10, 1906).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911, Chap. 201 (Mar. 30, 1911).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1913, Chap. 228 (Apr. 23, 1913).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915, Chap. 246 (Apr. 17, 1915).



the State Normal School, since 1909 the State Teachers College. The Normal School originally inherited the forty-acre tract of land contributed by the citizens of Cedar Falls, together with the buildings originally erected by the state for the Soldiers Orphans Home.<sup>72</sup> Since there have never been other funds available for either capital or current expenses, the support of this institution has been entirely a charge against the state budget from the beginning.

It was for this reason that Governor Boies was particularly interested in providing a source of continuing support for the Normal School. In his inaugural address in 1890 he said that, since this school was "wholly dependent upon temporary appropriations designed to supply its wants until another legislative meeting," its support should be in the form of permanent endowment.<sup>73</sup> This recommendation was followed, as has already been noted, by the appropriation of \$17,500 on the "annually hereafter" basis.

The act establishing the Normal School in 1876 provided appropriations for its support during the succeeding biennium — \$10,000 for the salaries of teachers and officers; \$3,000 for improvements and repairs; and \$1,500 for contingent expenses, a total of \$14,500.<sup>74</sup> The appropriations were gradually increased by biennial periods until by 1888 they had reached the amount of \$37,300. The original continuing appropriation of \$17,500 annually, made in 1890, was increased in 1892, 1898, and each biennium thereafter until by 1915 the total appropriations of this type amounted to \$285,000 annually.

In 1915 all continuing appropriations were combined in one sum for each of the state educational institutions, and no additions to this category were thereafter made. The Fortieth General Assembly, in extra session in 1924, enacted a state budget law containing a provision repealing all continuing appropriations.<sup>75</sup> Since that date, all appropriations for the current support of higher education have been made on the biennial basis.

Dissatisfaction with the plan for the management of the three state educational institutions by separate boards of regents or trustees had been evi-

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1876, Chap. 129 (Mar. 17, 1876).

<sup>73</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 6:282.

<sup>74</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1876, Chap. 129 (Mar. 12, 1876).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1924 (extra session), Chap. 4 (Apr. 25, 1924).

dent in legislative circles before 1898; but in this year bills were introduced in both houses proposing to place the three state educational institutions under a single board of control. Various reasons were given for such a proposal by its sponsors. Among them were: the embarrassment to the legislators arising from competitive lobbying by the representatives of the three schools; the steadily mounting demands of the three boards for the support of their schools; and the difficulty of the legislators in arriving at the actual needs of the institutions. The debate over these bills was long and acrimonious, but finally a compromise measure was agreed upon and passed. By this, a Board of Control was created for the management of the charitable, penal, and reformatory state institutions, but with supervisory power only over the state educational institutions as to their financial management and business procedures.<sup>76</sup> This statute continued in effect until it was superseded by the law setting up the State Board of Education in 1909. The dual relationship of each institution to its own board and to the Board of Control proved to be less burdensome than had been feared, but the results did not satisfy the advocates of unified control of the state schools.

In 1900, for the first time, the appropriations for the three institutions were combined in one legislative act. A request by the State University Board of Regents for the extension of their millage levy in 1902 led to the introduction of a similar bill authorizing a millage levy for the Normal School. This in turn brought about a like request for Iowa State College. The three requests were joined in one bill, the passage of which inaugurated, as has been noted, a dependable and continuing policy of physical expansion on all three campuses.<sup>77</sup>

The legislature had thus begun to think and act in terms of unification of support of higher education, but the agitation for unification of control continued. A bill for the creation of a state board of education to effect this end was introduced in 1904 but was indefinitely postponed. A joint committee was, however, set up to continue the study of the problem of unification. This body, known from its chairman as the Whipple Committee, made, during 1905-1906, an investigation of the three state colleges as to their financial management, control, functions, and provinces. In the report of this committee, submitted to the legislature in 1906, the conclu-

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898, Chap. 118 (Mar. 26, 1898).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Chap. 152 (Apr. 6, 1900).

sions were almost without exception negatively critical. In particular, these institutions were criticized for failure to obey the law requiring approval in advance by the General Assembly of all plans for the erection of buildings from the proceeds of the millage levies, for waste in expenditures of public funds through unnecessary duplication of educational work, and for institutional rivalry "detrimental to the educational interests of the state." As a solution of the problem, the Whipple Committee proposed the creation of a single appointive state board of regents for higher education in Iowa, with a finance committee consisting of three full-time members outside the personnel of the board, whose duty it should be to see that the state got value received from the appropriations for institutional support.<sup>78</sup>

A bill embodying the recommendations of the Whipple Committee passed the State Senate in the Thirty-first General Assembly but was defeated in the House.<sup>79</sup> A new bill, differing only slightly from that of 1906, was introduced and passed in 1909, and the long struggle to reorganize the government of the state educational institutions was ended.<sup>80</sup> A period of four or five years of stress and strain followed the establishment of the new State Board of Education as the immediate governing body of these schools; but eventually the new system became adjusted to its functions, and it has continued for almost half a century without essential change, not only without detriment to the institutions involved but rather to their advantage. Their united front in higher education has won for these schools so high a standing with the people of Iowa and of the country as a whole and has contributed to such efficiency of operation within their prescribed spheres of action as fully to justify the change that seemed so radical in 1909.

The Fortieth General Assembly (1923) proposed an extraordinary change of policy for state educational support, which directly involved higher education. It passed a bill providing for the training, under the direction of the State Board of Education, of teachers for elementary schools in private schools and colleges, and for the subsidy of this program in the private schools and colleges approved for this purpose. This bill was vetoed

<sup>78</sup> Report to the Thirty-first General Assembly of the Committee on State Educational Institutions appointed by the Thirtieth General Assembly (208 pages) (Jan. 9, 1906). The "Whipple Committee" was named for its chairman, Senator William P. Whipple of Vinton.

<sup>79</sup> *House Journal*, 1906, 1017-1018; *Senate Journal*, 1906, 791.

<sup>80</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1909, Chap. 170 (Mar. 29, 1909).

by Governor Nathan E. Kendall as a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the state constitution in proposing the abandonment of "the old and accepted principle of the divorcement of church and state."<sup>81</sup>

The Assembly of 1923 also requested the State Board of Education to increase the tuition charges in the institutions under its control,<sup>82</sup> in order to relieve to some extent the burden upon the taxpayers of the state. This request was made in recognition of the reduction in farm income in Iowa resulting from the marked fall in the price of farm products and farm lands from the inflated levels following World War I. To this influence was added that of the friends of the private colleges in the legislature, the so-called "private college bloc," who could not infrequently be counted as opposing increases in the amount of support for the state institutions of higher education. The State Board of Education, by a series of acts extending over several bienniums, gradually brought the tuition charges up to a common institutional level. The income from this source was estimated in 1924 as \$450,000 annually for the University; \$350,000 for the State College; and \$125,000 for the Teachers College, in view of which the board decided not to ask for any increase in funds for institutional support for the 1925-1927 biennium.<sup>83</sup>

A proposition looking to the enlargement of the dormitory systems in the state colleges without calling for any direct appropriations was presented to the Forty-first General Assembly by the Board of Education and was enacted into law. By this act, the Board was authorized to erect, manage, and control such buildings, to condemn property for sites, and to borrow money and pledge rents and profits for the payment of mortgages.<sup>84</sup> The policy thus established has enabled these institutions to set up dormitory systems of the highest quality.

The act of 1924 repealing all continuing appropriations and creating the office of State Budget Director (later State Comptroller) did not prove to be adverse to the interests of these institutions. On the contrary, the amounts appropriated biennially for their support (excluding appropriations for the University Hospital) were increased each biennium from \$8,500,000

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 1923, Chap. 64 (May 8, 1923); *Des Moines Register*, May 9, 1923.

<sup>82</sup> *Report of the Iowa State Board of Education . . . 1924* (Des Moines, n. d.), v.

<sup>83</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>84</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1925, Chap. 94 (Apr. 3, 1925).



in 1923 to \$12,000,000 in 1929. The financial stringency resulting from the depression of the 1930's, which began in 1929, inevitably caused a reduction in the appropriations for higher education. The downward trend reached its lowest point in 1933, when the state schools received only \$8,100,000 for the coming biennium. From this figure, the support was increased each following biennium; but it was not until 1945 that the total came to exceed that of 1929,<sup>85</sup> and in the last four years of this period the people were faced with the tragic conditions of World War II.

One significantly new feature of the Iowa legislative appropriations policy for higher education appeared in the depth of the depression in 1933 in the form of specific limitations in the amounts to be paid as salaries to the presidents of these institutions. Such limitations were repeated in the appropriation acts of 1935 and 1937, and in 1937 it was further prescribed that the appropriations for repairs, buildings, and equipment were to be spent under the supervision of the state executive council and the committee on retrenchment and reform.<sup>86</sup> Similar "interim" committees were authorized by the appropriations acts of 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, and 1953, and in each case the approval of a joint legislative committee was required for all expenditures for capital improvements.<sup>87</sup>

This tendency toward increased legislative control of expenditures by the State Board of Education (after 1955 the Board of Regents) was further shown by the passage in 1951 of an act requiring a preaudit of receipts and expenditures by the institutions under this board to be made by employees of the State Comptroller appointed by him.<sup>88</sup> This act was followed in 1953 by the inclusion in the appropriation bill of a section setting forth in itemized form an approved budget for each of the state colleges, and requiring that the expenditures by each such institution should not exceed the figure shown in the budget as the total of receipts from state appropriations and from other sources.<sup>89</sup> The amounts received from student fees and from other sources had been given in the biennial reports, and these amounts had been used as the basis of estimates of institutional needs.

<sup>85</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1923 to 1945 inclusive.

<sup>86</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Chap. 7 (May 1, 1937).

<sup>87</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1945 to 1953 inclusive.

<sup>88</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1951, Chap. 45 (May 15, 1951).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1953, Chap. 7, Sec. 12 (May 23, 1953).

This act of 1953, however, marks the first instance when the receipts from sources other than appropriations have received formal legislative recognition. A similar limitation was incorporated in the appropriation act of 1955.<sup>90</sup>

The preaudit act of 1951 has been subjected to criticism on the grounds that it provides for an unnecessary triplication of service, since all bills are by law postaudited by representatives of the Finance Committee of the Board of Regents and of the State Auditor's Office; that it has resulted in delaying payment until the state has lost discounts; and that it is unsound in principle, implying "a disturbing lack of trust" in the officials of the state colleges. It had been suggested that "In the interest of good government, the legislature should abolish the preauditing requirement."<sup>91</sup> Legislation to this effect was enacted by the Fifty-seventh General Assembly in 1957.

To summarize, in its legislative policy for the support of higher education, Iowa has followed a number of different plans. First, assuming that the income from the federal endowments should be sufficient for current support for both the State University and the State College of Agriculture, state responsibility was limited to providing the necessary physical plants. Second, there was the policy operating from 1878 to 1923 by which permanent incomes from continuing appropriations for current support were assured for each of the institutions of higher education. The third policy, in effect from 1896 to 1915, was one by which the proceeds of a millage tax levy were made available for successive periods of five years for building purposes in these institutions. Fourth, from 1909 to the present, a single board of regents for the government of the schools was substituted for separate boards of trustees. And fifth, a state-wide budget system was created, designed to provide still further supervision of the expenditure of state funds for the support of higher education. Since 1933 there have been a number of individual acts of the same intent.

The record of state support of higher education in Iowa exemplifies the democratic process, by which the elected representatives of the people have for more than a century shown in varying degrees their faith in the value of this type of education. When it is taken into consideration that Iowa has

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 1955, Chap. 6, Sec. 13 (May 6, 1955).

<sup>91</sup> *Des Moines Register*, Dec. 31, 1956.

no natural resources, such as oil or iron ore, upon which it can depend in part for the support of its educational program, but rather that such support must come almost entirely from taxes paid by its individual citizens, the truth of a statement by Homer H. Seerley to a joint legislative committee in 1904 becomes clearly evident: "The people of Iowa do not believe in economy at the expense of opportunity for their boys and girls."

DOCUMENT  
THE DIARY OF A LAW STUDENT, 1853-1855  
*Edited by Mildred Throne\**

George W. Van Horne, lawyer, editor, and diplomat, was a resident of Muscatine, Iowa, from 1855 until his death in 1895, with the exception of a few years spent abroad and another few years in Arkansas. Born in Chicopee, Massachusetts, on October 12, 1833, young Van Horne, after the usual education in elementary school and academy, began the study of law on May 30, 1853, in the law office of Charles R. Ladd of Chicopee. In 1854 he went west to Akron, Ohio, for a few months' study in the office of Bierce and Voris, but homesickness sent him back to Massachusetts, where he continued his studies under Edward B. Gillett, attended Wilbraham Academy for a few months, and then turned westward again, this time to Muscatine, Iowa. Here he completed his law studies under David C. Cloud and was admitted to the bar of Iowa in 1855.

Politically, George W. Van Horne started out as a Republican, being active in the formation of that party in Iowa. After the 1860 election, President Lincoln appointed him to the post of consul at Marseilles, France, where he served until removed from office by President Andrew Johnson in 1866. Upon his return to the United States, Van Horne went to Arkansas to edit a Republican newspaper, but his experience there soon convinced him of the injustice done to southern whites by Radical Reconstruction, and he became a Democrat. Returning to Iowa in 1870, he began publication of the *Muscatine Tribune*, and for a number of years was active in journalism and in Democratic politics. In 1893 he was appointed postmaster of Muscatine by President Grover Cleveland. He died in Muscatine February 8, 1895.<sup>1</sup>

The diary, which he kept intermittently for two years during his days as

\*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> See *Portrait and Biographical Album of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1889), 331-2; Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1916), 397-8; *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 2:78 (April, 1895). Although in later life Van Horne spelled his name with a final "e," in the diary he spelled it "Van Horn."



a law student, was presented to the Society by his granddaughter, Miss Edith Magoon of Chicago, at the same time that she gave the Society the diary of her paternal grandfather, George D. Magoon.<sup>2</sup> As reproduced here, most of the personal references in the diary have been eliminated, both to conserve space and because they do not add to the picture of a young man coming of age in the 1850's. The value of the journal is that it shows the influences affecting a young New Englander in these years and the forces which sent him westward in search of a future. In later life Van Horne became an accomplished writer and a prominent Democratic editor, but in this diary his often strained efforts at "fine" writing reflect the literary standards of the age. His personality shows through the verbiage, however: a serious young man, but with a leaven of humor that keeps him from being stuffy. Although his journal tells nothing of Iowa — ending abruptly in the middle of a sentence describing his journey to Iowa — it does give the background of a man who rose to local prominence during the forty years he spent in Muscatine.

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Monday May 30th 1853.

To furnish a discipline for the mind, — to aid the memory, in the contemplation of those scenes & events which wither and fade before the stroke of Time — if not recorded, and to preserve Life's journey, by the written page, is the object and purpose of these writings. Being "minus sufficiens in literature," I am unable to stamp Life's pilgrimage on the pages, as it shall compare with those memoirs of truly great men, who thus have left Life's History for the World's perusal, and therefore do not aim at any great distinction in the literary world, by the production of these pages. The experience of bitter sorrow has taught me, that after "Grim Death" has set his seal upon them, such records are gratefully received by mourning friends, tending in a measure to compensate for the loss of their Author; therefore to such friends do I devote my leisure moments, in thus preserving the leading characteristics of my pilgrimage here below, beginning at a time, when slipping from the cloister of an academy, I for the first time immure myself within the confines of a Law Office (Chas R Ladd's). To reason why the legal profession should be the object of Ambition's choice would imply that a better selection could have been made

<sup>2</sup> Mildred Throne (ed.), "The California Journey of George D. Magoon, 1852-1854," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:131-68 (April, 1956).

which it is not admitted; remarking however that in the earliest days of January, no thought was so particularly attractive and fascinating as the expectation which riveted itself upon my mind of one day becoming an honored member of the Bar. Language of mind is not adequate for the illustration of the emotions and aspirations, which glow within my bosom, as for the first time I am honoured with an introduction to the *immortal Blackstone*. Comparatively a stranger to the "Republic of Letters," untutored in the Sciences, and upon no familiar terms with the classics, I perceive at once that my future success does not depend upon what *has* been accomplished but rather, upon *present* unwearied action, just appreciation of present advantages, an unflinching purpose, an energy of will, that bows before, and yields to no opposing obstacle, — the concentration of all power, to the one work before me, and finally, to a faithful discipline of the little "native genius" possessed, for the accomplishment of the one *great end*. . . .

Tues. 31st Arose at 1/2 past 5; forenoon passed with my Friends; in the afternoon had the pleasure of reviewing for the first time, to my worthy Tutor Squire Ladd. With mind greatly excited from first impressions of *Law*, at 10 of the clock shall bequeath it to the refreshing influence of Somnus.

Wed. June 1st. Was called from my slumbers at 1/2 past 6 by the entreaties of a kind Mother, who requested my company at the morning repast. The day has been passed at Home, regarding with fond solicitude the pages of *Law*, comprising the succeeding lesson. . . .

Thurs 2nd Was again reminded of returning day by the maternal voice, and at 1/2 6 sprang from the couch, inwardly determining that the next morn should see me up before the advent of Old Sol, who to say the least about him, is remarkable for his habits of early rising. Morning reviewed my lesson, preparatory to recitation, and thereby was enabled to pass a very creditable examination. . . . Evening employed at Home, reviewing "Abercrombies intellectual Philosophy" an excellent treatise upon the mind. . . .

Fri 3rd How impenetrable to mortal vision is the future. Notwithstanding former determination, was again helped from my couch by the voice of some one below, who had the kindness to insinuate that coffee was much more refreshing, if taken immediately after preparation; receiving rather reluctantly the truth of this "timely hint" I arose, inwardly determining

this morning however, never to frame my mind to any more engagements relative to early rising, for beside the loss of confidence accruing from broken contracts of this nature, it certainly is far from harmonizing with good taste. Breakfast relishing as usual, I sought the companionship of my Friend Mr Blackstone, and without cessation have been entertained by him, throughout the day. Evening passed with Shakespeare. . . .

Tues 7th Awoke & arose at the usual hour, and was enabled to talk Law a little with Squire Ladd. . . .

Wed 8th . . . Day has been passed at the office, Study and recitation, A. M.; the perusal of Biography of Pat Henry P. M. . . .

Fri 10th . . . Have made considerable progress in Law, by a recitation of 58 pages. Have perused Biography of Ex Gov Brown of Tenesee [sic]. . . .

Thurs 16th Arose at 1/2 5. Morning resplendent with the glory of the rising Sun. Partook of a hot cup of coffee and repaired to the Office. Sitting by the window that fronts Exchange St. and glancing at the opposite side of the road I beheld a man in the "Lock up," who was making strenuous efforts, on the presumption of gaining his liberty. He was what is styled a "common drunkard," and had evidently been placed there for some freak committed while in a state of "non compos mentis." His ravings were violent, and anon, he would stretch his arm through the grate, and poising his hand in true Ciceronian style, would make me the audience of some of the most flaming orations ever before listened to. After receiving several invitations to visit him, I took my hat, & acknowledging his suit, went directly to the cell to see who the "Gent" might be. Trip was his name, a man naturally industrious & peaceful, but addicted to intemperance and his appetite for the beverage had thus cost him his liberty. He presented a most pitiful sight, as grasping the bars, he implored me with tears streaming down his cheeks, to release him. He touched my sympathetic Spirit by his earnest appeals, and promising to do my utmost to free him, I sought the office of one of his bondsmen, to effect the end in view. Finding him, I made my business known, declaring that the "lock up" was a place not fit for a beast, much less for even the *lowest* grade of *humanity*. Informing me of the nature of the bond, I told him that "Trip" might be taken out of Town, and thus avoid all risk from action taken upon the Bond. We repaired to the cell and asked the prisoner if he was willing to leave the place, if Liberty was given him. He replied in the affirmative stating that he had a sister in N. Coventry Conn, who would be happy to

take charge of him. Thereupon a Team was obtained & giving the culprit time to change his apparel, he was helped into the carriage, and invested with the custody, I drove off, realizing that I had the charge of a desperate scoundrel, — a degraded drunkard, one subject to all the frightful evils of Delirium Tremens, and how the journey would terminate I knew not, and being imbued with sort of an adventurous spirit just then, I may add neither did I care. The first six miles, he behaving very decently, I imagined that I should have an agreeable voyage; but it happened that I was deceived in “the natir of the critter,” for soon he broke forth into his wild bacchanalian yells, — stopping his mouth occasionally with the nose of a rum bottle, which he had been enabled by stealth to secrete about his person before starting — and then again making the “welkin ring” with his boisterous shouts, until I began to imagine that I should either be compelled to kill him, or smash his bottle, in order to prevent myself being a subject of his tender mercies. Not long did I hesitate, but taking him in an unguarded moment, I snatched the bottle from his hand and threw it as far as strength enabled me. Oh horror!! Language cannot describe the fiendish look, which I received, for the best deed that he probably ever had done for him. Demonical expressions enwreathed his countenance, and a savage fire gleamed from his eye, as he declared that for *that*, he would be the death of me. Now was the time to exercise some of that nerve, which as yet I was the possessor of, and stopping the horse, I told him with all the coolness of a French guardsman that he either must demean himself properly, or I would place him in a situation not in the least enviable. The manner in which I expressed myself had the desired effect, for resting back in the carriage, he became docile as a lamb. We rode 22 miles (at the distance of 2 miles from N. Coventry) when he declared he would go no farther. “Very well,” said I, “then just jump out, and I will leave you”; he did so, & I giving him some money, drove on, mightily well pleased at his departure. Rockville being near, drove to a Hotel of that place, and ordered a cup of coffee & a “good steak” for myself, and a “rubbing down” and some provender for my beast. . . .

Sun 19th . . . Evening at home, perusing the history of “David Copperfield the Younger” by Dickens, who excels all writers, in delineating the characteristic of English life. . . .

Wed 22nd Although most of the preceding night was engaged in a sharp conflict with mosquitoes yet was enabled to arise at 6 o’clock and indulging



in a fine bath partook of the morning meal and straightway repaired to the Office, where I was most agreeably surprised by the presence of the Squire, who had returned to town the preceding evening. Attended closely the companionship of Blackstone in conversation about the Clergy of England, and before eve'g had the pleasure of relating to Mr Ladd the facts gathered from the interview with the learned gentleman. . . . Besides the Society of Blackstone, have enjoyed the perusal of a few chapters of Channing a few speeches of Brougham and a few pages from the pen of Dr. Franklin. . . .

Thurs 23rd . . . Passed the forenoon at the Office, dipping into the civil order of England, & after dinner, recited what had been studied. Also read the Biographies of Hon Reuben H Walworth N. Y. Hon Luther Badger N. Y. Hon J. Miner N. Y. Col. Overton Tenn. G. W. Norton Ken. & Judge Marchbanks Tenn. . . .

Akron Ohio October 21st 1853

Rejecting the entreaties of a Mother, Sister & Brother, deaf to the gentle whisperings of youthful association and traitor to my own being, I answered to the impervious call of Ambition, and [I am] borne upon its sacrificing current, from the peaceful haven of Home out alone on the vast ocean of Life to day. I open my Log book, for the purpose of jotting down a few of the events, which have transpired since departing on my journey. My text upon this occasion will be embodied in the following line.

"Ah! they wander wide, who roam

For the joys of Life from *Home*."

And ere I proceed to note the incidents which characterized this "Tour westward" perhaps a preamble may not be amiss explaining in a measure, the spirit and reason of a project which has thus deprived me of the presence of Kindred & friends, and constructed my heart into a receptacle of sorrow. One day, while sitting in the office of Squire Ladd, mind intent upon the future, the idea presented itself, that if I would be a Student, I must hie me away from the association of my native village and betake myself to some sequestered spot, whose influences might not have that control over mind, which characterized too much the tendency of those at and roundabout Chicopee. But this thought was neither new or novel. Long had fancy dwelled in the anticipation of Western Life. Years had the determination been formed within my mind that the great West was the place of action, for youthful intellects, where no barrier was placed in the way of advancement, and where one is weighed in the scale of true worth,

where poverty is no disparag[e]ment provided he is capable to answering in intellectual worth, to the requirements of the times. The proposition being made verbal to my Mother & friends it was discarded at once, as being a most palpable mistake of mine, and which if put in execution, would result in misfortune to myself and in sorrow to my friends. But the thought once engendered, no obstacle could prevent its practical development, and adverse to the wishes of friends I *must* go. Consequently, preparations [sic] were made accordingly, and on the 24th of September, in company with my Bro in Law L E Ladd, and his friend Mr Mixter [?], who were to attend me as far as New York (going thither to visit the Crystal Palace) I took cars for Hartford, and from thence by boat to N. Y. Arriving here on Thursday morn the time was agreeably passed in the Crystal palace, Brooklyn Navy yard, and viewing the objects of note in and around the city until I bade my Friends adieu on Saturday, and taking the boat, a[t] Erie Depot, crossing the river, I took my seat in the cars, which soon obeying the call of their impetuous leader, were running over the Jersey flats at the speed of 40 miles the hour, & subject at that time to some of the most pleasing emotions as I became aware of the widening distance between myself and friends. I could not appreciate to its just due, the scenery of the country through which I was passing, and although it was of a character perfect in composition being a happy mixture of the gentle and the wild, the sublime and the beautiful, yet the comparison was between "*Loved New England*" and the strange country and the effects of the contrast must have been most vividly portrayed upon the surface of my heart, as multiplying sighs were being constantly dedicated to the friends I was leaving behind me. History has done much to render this route one of exceeding interest to the traveller, it being the page of some of the most daring deeds achieved during the past period of America's existence as a nation. A short ride on the rode [sic] brings us into the Ramapo Valley, interesting from its romantic scenery, its abundant Iron ore to factories & mills, and its Revolutionary incidents. The remains of the "Camp fires" of the Soliders of 76 are still visible in the forests we pass, and many houses we pass, which have been honoured with the presence of Washington and other noted militaries, Tarrytown (where Major Andrew [sic] was arrested) is passed, and Tappan the place of his execution.<sup>3</sup> At

<sup>3</sup> Major John Andre, adjutant to the British General, Sir Henry Clinton, who was implicated in the treason of Benedict Arnold. Andre was convicted and executed as a spy on September 30, 1780, but Arnold escaped to the British forces.

Deleware [sic] station the noble Deleware appears, flowing through its extensive flats, a river which we follow nearly to its source. — A P Willis describes this river to be the “Rhine of America” and certainly the scenery which skirts its banks does not belie him, but the uneasy feelings, which one must experience on this road, rather detracts from the loveliness, which surrounds him. At one place beyond Pond Eddy the road extends a mile in a straight line, on a gigantic gallery overlooking a sheer precipice of 100 ft. above the river, and showing along its narrow edge enormous natural abutments of seamed and river rock, as though they were placed to support the fearful pathway traversed by the heavy train, and perhaps it is well that travellers generally see but little of the causeway from the cars, as its sublime features and the cliffs above them might make them feel rather uncomfortable as it did me, who was wide awake to all peril, having a natural desire to see my Friends again ere I shifted the scenery for another world. What adds to its impressive grandeur is the contrast presented by the opposite shore, which rises gently from the river, skirted by a grove of willows over which shines a calm strip of the canal (Hudson & Erie which we follow) bordered by smiling fields, and snug dwellings. But three miles of this road here cost \$300,000, which conveys some idea of the labor expended here. At one point on the road we see a house which is no less than the birth place of Joe Smith,<sup>4</sup> the Mormon, an antiquated looking building supported by props, and though most in ruins, yet is the “mecca” of many of his disciples [sic] from the Salt lake. But to enumerate all the “sights” seen, would require more time than is granted me, and passing rapidly along I arrive at Dunkirk (the terminus of this road). I renew my check, and again take cars for Erie. This part of the travel being continued in the night, I was insensible of anything real around me, but was again at Home, enjoying the smiles of dearest friendship. Twas 4 oclock Sabbath morn, when the train arrived in Erie, and wishing to visit my Cousins in Albion and supposing that to do so, I must alight at Erie, and take Stage thence, I jumped off, and immediately was on the lookout for my baggage. My Trunk showed itself, *but no valish* [sic] in which was my linen, and to add to my disappointment, in this trying moment t’was told me I must journey on to Springfield if I wished to see Albion that Sabbath; but go

<sup>4</sup> This was no doubt at Palmyra, New York, where Joseph Smith lived from 1816 until about 1830. But Palmyra was not his birthplace; Smith was born in Vermont in 1805. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 17:310-12.

without my valish I would not, and a poor dejected soul, I had my trunk and self conveyed to the Hotel, where I was soon ensconced between two Sheets, an inhabitant of the dream land. I lay till noon (losing my dinner, being too late for that meal) and dressing, sauntered out, to see what kind of a place I was in. My private and unbiased opinion of Erie and its inhabitants is very unfavorable, inasmuch as in addition to the cause of my staying here, I did not meet but one person who could talk intelligible English. After a survey of the Town I went down to the Lake Shore to wile away the time, and here (to speak briefly) I saw the tomb of "Mad Anthony Wayne" the "war spirit" of the revolution. Another object of interest was an Old Block House, which had done execu[tions] for the Erians in the past wars. The morning of the next day, I arose very early, and commenced telegraphing for my valish, and suffice it to say was unsuccessful in all my endeavors to obtain a clue to its whereabouts. At noon I went to the Depot, with my trunk, determined to go and leave the critter. But fortunate for once, I found it there, it having been through to Cleveland and they there, discovering the mistake, returned it to Erie. It had been broken open and was tied together with a cord, but nothing was missing. Taking the cars at 2½ I arrived at Springfield by 3 and by private conveyance was carried to Albion, where I met with a reception, which *nearly* repaid for the trials I had passed through. Here (for the first time) I had the pleasure of greeting many kindred, and so earnest & successful were the endeavours extended by them, to render my brief stay among them agreeable, that I shall ever regard it as a happy Elysium in the walks of my poor life. Wilbur, a young man of my own age, accompanied me at my departure to Cuyahoga Falls the residence of my uncle & his Grand father, and there was passed as happy a period as I ever wish to enjoy. Guns & fishing tackle were furnished for our diversion, and the way we scoured the forrests [sic], was Death to all — Bears — Hyenas — Lions &c that we met. While here my Uncle who was loathe to have me travel farther west than Ohio advised [me] to visit Gen. Bierce, a Lawyer of Ackron [sic], and if his appearance suited me to stay with him. Agreeably with his request I paid court to the said Gentleman and in due time, the preliminaries were settled for a year's residence with him, and this crude narrative has brought me to the present period. Akron is a town of some 5000 inhabitants of a complex character, being composed of New England emigrants, Pennsylvania Dutch, and a strong dose of Irish and Scotch by way of salad. The people in the daily



routine of their business have a goaheaditiveness about them which smacks of a large predominance of the "genus homo" called Yankees, and seem to be acquiring wealth in a manner which challenges admiration. Akron is principally noted as a flour market. Eight large mills, increasingly sending forth the "Staff of Life" testify to its reported character, and 3 cotton mills, and two woolen manufactories with an endless variety of less important corporations tend to make the place a little busy world in itself. The scenery around the town is most painfully monotonous and void of interest to one who has enjoyed his youth amid the beautiful landscape of the Connecticut Valley, nature not having bestowed her gifts so bountifully upon what she apparently intended for a "officina gentium." My boarding place is one calculated to make me (if such a thought could be entertained) forget my New England home, as my hostess seems indefatigable in her endeavors to render my sojourn with [her] agreeable, and the other members of the household exert themselves for the pleasure of the Stranger. My tutor Gen Bierce is [a] most magnanimous soul, and though beginning the down hill of life, retains sufficient youth to afford sympathy and condolence for the homesick heart of his pupil. The junior partner A C Voris is a young man, not passed the age of 25 I should judge, yet gifted with precocious powers, sociable in his intercourse and so extremely affable that I can not but be pleased with his companionship. Our Office is pleasantly situated, a library select, yet extensive, and business enough to warrant partners in their attempts for a livelihood from the plunder of one office. Well here I *am*, and though thoughts of home crowd upon me, in this lone stillness of the night yet I must reject their kind allusions to returning home, and make the best of what Fate ordains shall be my fortune. But to Bed. . . .

Reader, was you ever homesick? Away from home, surrounded with novel scenes, and strange people, no one to whom you can commit the silent thoughts of mind, or the griefs which rankle in your bosom, nobody but your own solitary self with whom you can commune, well knowing ere you seek, that no relief can spring from such a source? I return again to my room, and here at least, I can shut myself up with home, and think how happy I might have been to night yet *now* — how miserable. It is but a thought forced into a resolution and at Home I am. I will go home, and leave this land to those who are willing to sacrifice all that makes life desirable, to satisfy the cravings of their ambition.

## Buffalo

En route for HOME!!! No sooner said than done. The morning following the eve when I resolved to return I packed my baggage, and taking a hasty adieu of Attys Bierce & Voris took the train for Cuyahoga Falls wishing to see my Friends, ere I bade Ohio a Longum Vale. I stayed with them 2 weeks, & thence proceeded to Cleveland. It was Thanksgiving Day, and the cars not starting till 5 AM I went about the City, to make good my brief stay there. But a storm a perfect hurricane was sweeping o'er the lake, and having an "eye" for such scenes, I betook me to the shore of the Lake, to feast upon one of the grandest scenes displayed in Nature's Works. The waves ran mountains high, and as far as the vision extended, naught could be seen but the white foam of the convulsed waters. Three Ships were in the offing when I first advanced to the Shore, they evidently striving to gain a harbour from the fury of the tempest. But two were unsuccessful, or at least so it would seem, for they faded away in the distant [sic] and finally disappeared. But the other pushed on her way toward the City, rolling and tumbling with the raging flood, as if the retreat to be found there was necessary to her existence. Ill fated thing. The waves, which have been the sport of thy bow, are soon to bury thee piecemeal upon their crests, — the waters thou hast so nobly conquered are now to turn upon thee as their prey, and thou the strength of [word illegible] must yield to the destructive forces of Nature. Now she minds the feeble helm, and now as if to break loose from this restraint she turns to the mercy of the winds again, her bow is turned headland [sic] and still again she yields to the fury of the blast. Ah! she's sinking, she settles! and as a hundred boats from the shore fly to the rescue of her crew, she *sinks* beneath her Ocean home, and is gone. At this time the ringing of the car bell tells me, I must hie to the depot — and soon there I am on my journey homeward. . . .

## Chicopee Massachusetts.

Again at HOME. Can I realize it? A little while ago moaning over my sad fate as a sojourner in a strange land and now, surrounded by the Friends, Scenes and associations of childhood! I did not write the events of yesterday, as they found me in the cars, travelling at the rate of 40 miles the hour, rendering it impracticable, holding or guiding a pen on paper. . . .

May 8th, 1854. Again in happy New England. I am now studying under the tutorship of the Hon Edw B. Gillett one of the first Lawyers in Western Massachusetts Some three months have passed since entering this office, &

although the palpable mistakes & egregious blunders of his pupil have been frequent enough to cause many lectures from my Tutor, in way of my gross inadvertence, yet nothing but pleasant language has fell [sic] from his lips for my correction and it shall be the height of my ambition while here to merit a continued approbation from my worthy & Hon Tutor. I am now reading some of the lectures of the first course delivered by James Kent L. L. D. before the Colombian Institute [Columbia University]. . . .

May 9th Nothing remarkable has occurred this day, excepting a decision or judgment rendered by Esq. Leonard in case of Bauer vs. Fowler the PG bringing suit for some \$90 after including all credit due the Deft. The judgment was \$11.65 in favor of the Deft. a hard matter for credulity to digest, were not the collateral circumstances of the trial (not of evidence) of some weight in the Hon Justice's mind. The counsel for the Deft is one just admitted as a practitioner & being partner of the Justice, it is desirable that this his first case after admittance, should be propitious for future success. comment unnecessary.

May 11. . . Have read to day the second chapter of Kent on the Law of Nations, as observed in a state of peace. . . .

May 12. . . Have regarded to day the third & fourth chapters of Kent including "Declarations and early measures of War," & "Of the various kind of property liable to capture." . . .

May 12 [sic]. . Have remained in the Office all day examining Kent upon the "Rights of Belligerents," & "Rights & duties of Neutrals." . . .

May 13. Arose this morning at 6 k and breakfasting proceeded to the office, where I again cultivated a farther acquaintance with James Kent. This day's study has been upon the "Restrictions upon Neutral trade," & "Truces, passports & treaties of Peace." . . .

May 16 Was up this morning at 5 K. and employed the morning hour at the office, with the Second Book of Kent, Mr. Gillett thinking it advisable that I should commence this book, & leave the first to be read as work of miscellaneous [sic] character. . . .

May 17 This morning ate breakfast & repaired to the office, & passed the forenoon with James Kent, on law concerning the absolute Rights of persons. . . . This afternoon attended the trial of Reuben Fox for larceny. Esq Gillett for Gove't & Whiting for defence. Although the Govnt have nothing but circumstantial [sic] evidence to convict the fellow, yet these are of sufficient verity in their corroboration to fix the guilt upon him. . . .

May 18th Was up and dressed at 5 K. The forenoon was the sole inmate of the office, saving the visitors. Mr Gillett attendant upon the trial of Commonwealth vs Fox. In the afternoon upon the suggestion of the Esq. accompanied him to the court room & remained a spectator of the scene till its close. At about 5K Esq. Whitney opened the case for defence under very favorable & flattering circumstances, the large assembly which had gathered there in strong expectation of something of more than ordinary interest, forming no mean audience, to receive his flowing exhalations of rhetorical arguments. But little invective found its way in his language, it being a very cool & deliberate as well as elaborate strain, in the support of the Alibi, enlivening his speech now & then with poetical touches, which were well suited to his musical voice. He endeavoured to diminish the suspicions of Fox's guilt by casting imputations upon one of the Witnesses and by throwing the veil of duplicity over his testimony, attempted to criminate him. But all unavailing were these efforts, for an American Brougham was about to unravel the hidden mysteries by his subtle vision, & to draw by his tongue of fire forth from the [word illegible] darkness the hidden light of truth. Mr. Gillett I find is no ordinary Lawyer, when engaged at the Bar in accusatory eloquence. At the magic touch of his eloquent tongue, the every link of circumstance which tended to criminate the Deft. formed themselves into one close undivided chain which by his masterly power was run through all the facts of the case and then interlacing them with the special thread of argument upon argument, sending an [word illegible] band of convictions, he winds them around the Deft. untill [sic] all were ready to pronounce him guilty exc[ept] the sentence of the Court was known. His speech was a masterly production for an extemporaneous work, and was one of the finest specimens of Forensic oratory of this character that I have ever heard. His violent denunciations on the character of the Deft's testimony in endeavoring to prove his Alibi, the thrilling sensations occasioned by his vividly searching interrogations and the expressions of his audience as his thunderbolts of scorn defiance & vituperation lit upon the head of the Deft all testify to the remarkable power of his talents. With a tongue of fire he scattered invective like hot burning coals on the heads of all who had dared to manifest favor to the Deft in screening him from punishment, not even sparing the Counsel for defence in the heat of his remarks. Bitter taunt, fierce scathing irony, glowing invective, rushed on as a torrent, mixed with cold & freezing sarcasm; the fire ran along the ground mingled with hail; but it



was a torrent of living fire, and with a perpetual vivid glow of apostrophe, exclamation, question, satire, indignation & contempt, flamed amazement. In short it was a work of eloquence. The prisoner was bound over in sum of \$400 Dollars to answer before a higher tribunal. In the evening at the office perusing Kent. . . .

May 19 As the Sun was lining the brows of the Eastern Mountains with his beams of gold, I arose from my couch, & dressed repaired to the office and commenced upon the duties of the day, which chiefly has been the Study of Kent on Natives & Aliens. . . .

Mon 22 This morning was up at 5K & devoted the hour before breakfast to assiduous study. At 7 went to the Office, & during the forenoon made out five complts for Assault & Battery, which were tried this afternoon before Esq Fuller. G. W. Van Horn for Government and Whitney as counsel for defence in one of the cases. These assaults all arose from an exuberance of spirits, naturally attendant upon copious inhalations of "rot gut." The Defts in all cases were fined \$1.00 apiece & costs of prosecution. This evg at the Office. . . .

Tue 23d Arose this morning at 7 K & breakfasting repaired officeward. To day have examined Kent on Law concerning marriage. . . .

Wed 24 . . . The forenoon passed in scanning Kent on Law concerning divorces. . . . Enjoyed a walk after Tea & passed the Evng at the office, reading "Burke's impeachment." . . .

Thurs 25 . . . Have read Kent upon the relative duties and obligations of Husband & Wife. . . .

Fri 26 This day has passed off as all other days, nothing hindering its going except the moon who thrust herself in the sun's course, as if her beauty attracting him to her side, might retard his receding footsteps. About 4½ the moon, or part of her, became apparent upon the disck [sic] of the Sun, moving in a south easterly direction, so at the eclipse nearly hiding the whole face of majesty. Smoked glasses brought a high premium, & probably more eyes were turned heavenward than during all the days of the year.

Have communed with Kent to day upon the relative duties of parent & child. . . .

Saturday 27 Up and dressed at 4 oclock, & passed two very busy hours in reading Middleton's Cicero, which no person who is ever to officiate before the Bar should neglect. . . .

Mon 29 Was up at sunrise and eagerly at work upon the perusal of

Cicero. After Breakfasting went to the office, & have remained there during the day. My Law has been the relation of Master & Servant. . . . Great excitement in Boston relative to the recaptivity of the fugitive Burns.<sup>5</sup> He is claimed by one Col. Suttler of Virginia, but that odious act of Congress relating to the Western territory, has raised a furor in the North, to be by no means appeased by attempted executions of the Fugitive Slave Law. Those who were the staunchest friends of the compromise of 1850 are now becoming hostile to its measures, while a love or respect for the Union is rapidly diminishing in the heart of the whole North. Large delegations from Worcester and from cities & towns adjoining Boston are pouring into Boston, fully determined upon the rescue of the Slave. God speed them! So intense is the feverish excitement in the City that U. S. troops fill the Court House while all the citizen soldiery are under arms by the order of the Mayor. . . .

Fri [June] 2 Cannot say that I am much more deeply versed in Law than when the Sun rose upon me this morning, for extraneous influences tend to subjugate my thoughts, altogether to their power. To day the "fugitive Burns" is either to be set at liberty or remand[ed] to the pitiful doom of Southern Slavery, creating a fearful suspense in many hearts, as to the results of the late trial (?) Nothing but indignation seems to be abroad upon this subject, — that Congress sd [sic. should] pour this pestilential flood upon the North (Nebraska Bill), but that directly upon such enormity, should be the reination & reinforcement of the infamous "fugitive law." . . .

Sat 3 Massachusetts disgraced!!!! When laws become so odious to the American people, as to require the aid of Armed Soldiery for their execution, we well may question their propriety & justice. The fugitive remanded! To show the sentiments of the people upon this decision, it was found necessary to make all precaution in the way of armed force, for the security of the Slave, while being taken to the Cutter, which is to carry him to the South. Accordingly Burns was placed in the middle of a square formed by 100 special deputies of the U.S. Marshall and headed by a large

<sup>5</sup> This case was one of the most famous during this period. A slave, Anthony Burns, had escaped and fled to Boston, where he had been arrested. His defense was undertaken by Richard H. Dana, Jr., Theodore Parker, and Wendell Phillips, and their speeches aroused intense feeling in Boston and throughout the North. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from The Compromise of 1850* (7 vols., New York, 1899-1906), 1:500-506.

field piece in company of U.S. Marines, & backed by a force of 1000 militia the prisoner or slave was escorted to the wharves. American flags draped in mourning, and black streamers flying to the winds evinced in some measure the public feeling, while an immense crowd numbering somewhere near 100,000 escorted the slave to his ship. This scene unparalleled in the history of Boston excitement has done its work, & that work has been a terrible one. Dark passions have been aroused, ill blood engendered, the love of the Union stabbed, when its flesh is quickest and its blood warmest, & more than all, humanity, Christianity & America have been disgraced! What is the worth of the Union if the noblest sentiment of a noble State must be crushed out of existence in order to preserve it? [These pages in the diary have heavy black lines drawn down each side, and on one margin Van Horne wrote: "*God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!*"] . . .

Wilbraham Feby 9th 1855

An incident having reminded me that I possess a diary, I have taken it from my trunk, and shall insert a few lines of written matter concerning my present habitation and mode of life.

About two months ago I came to Wilbraham, for the purpose of connecting myself with the Academy established here, and soon after my arrival was sedulously engaged in the prosecution of my Studies. For seven weeks nothing occurred to mar the pleasantness of my life; my recitations were regularly attended, and my lessons were perfectly committed. It happened that a Miss Ware of Worcester city must be an attendant of the School, and presenting so many amiable qualities in her mind & person, must attract my serious attention!!!! The natural graces were such as to make an infusion upon my mind in her favor, while a striking resemblance between her and a friend, who had been dearly associated with my past years generated in my affections a growing regard for her.

In the course of human events, Miss Ware, who was acquainted with my landlady, made a visit to my boarding house one evening in company with a lady student, and accidentally meeting her in the sitting room, I invited her & her companion to my "Study." Agreeably to my invitation, they came into my room, and being joined with another gentleman, a very pleasant evening ensued.

It being necessary that there should be an excuse for this infringement of Academic rules, I applied to Dr. Raymond and as I supposed received one, — a blunder however for a few slanderers having become informed

of it, they spread their scandal throughout the School, and the Hon Dr informed me that he must take public notice of my indiscretion. So on one morning the worthy gentleman appeared upon the Stage, and occupied about an hour in slandering the character of Miss Ware, and placing me in the light of a villain before the public. Though deeply insulted by the wrong done to Miss Ware's name, I concluded that I wd [sic. would] "pocket it," rather than assume an air of hostility to the D. D. (Doctor of Deviltry).

Soon however one "Edwin Cady" (stu[dent]) merited his attention by an illicit intercourse with a lady student (having had the *audacity* to *Kiss* the ruby *Lips* of a damsel) and I supposed that my unpleasant (?) affair was forgotten. But to my surprise, Miss Ware & myself were again compelled to take the burden of his remarks, and I thinking that we should have to be noticed, at the occasion of everybody's faults, began to have serious thoughts of leaving the School. The back-biters & all the Old Women of the town having set up a hue and cry about me. I thought I would answer their venomous assaults, by a reply at my next declamation.

Writing out my thoughts in full and committing them, it was last Saturday that I went upon the stage to deliver them before the School. Having used a personality in a preceding remark the D. D. (Dog of a Donkey) having interrupted me, and after remarking that the stage of Fisk Hall was no place to defend one's position, he invited me to my seat. Upon the afternoon of the same day I wrote to the D. D. (Dirty Dunghill) that I was no longer a subject of his omnipotent authority, and thus dissolved my connection with the meanest and most intolerable Ass the world ever witnessed.

The boarding house of the Institution furnishes accommodation for nearly 250 students. It was upon the afternoon of Saturday afore mentioned that Chas W Gillett Esq was seated at the table eating his evening repast. Most of the boarders had left the dining room, but the delay of Mr Gillett was occasioned by his having had to wait upon some 16 mouths, he now making up the time he had devoted to the wants of others. Miss Kate Vaughn (his opposite) had also remained at the table as companion for her Charles, and both were discussing the quality of the tea, and the general character of their board there, when their company was intruded upon by Mr Warren, one of the Faculty. Speaking to Gillett, Warren said that they had occupied the hall long enough, and must vacate it, and



then without waiting for a reply from either, he endeavored to remove Mr Gillett's chair from under him; which was partially prevented by Gilletts rising. Mr. Warren then directed Mr. Gilletts attention to the door and requested him to leave, and not being obeyed instanter, he attempted his egress by force. This action on the part of a man, not much older than himself, aroused Mr. Gilletts pride, and pulling his arm from the grasp of Warren, he walked out of the room, in a direction contrary to the commands of the "Faculty." On the afternoon of the next day I was waited upon by Gillett, who after acquainting me with the circumstances, asked if there were sufficient grounds to support a "complaint." Informing him affirmatively, the next day we drove to Spfd [Springfield] and I introduced my Friend Gillett to Esq Bond, who after hearing the facts, requested Justice Smith to issue a complaint, which was done, and much elated with our success in obtaining the "papers," though anxious as to the results, we drove back to Wilbraham. Immediately upon our return, Mr. Gillett fearing a dismissal from school and an ejection from the boarding house removed his trunk to my Landlady's since which time — some three weeks ago — we have enjoyed ourselves finely. Gilletts complaint was not served, as Raymond did not regard a publicity of Wilbraham affairs at all agreeable, and consequently Warren was apologized for, and the expense paid by the Institution. . . .

Mucatine, Iowa, May 11, 1855

This book might be taken for an Arab's diary, so full does it abound in notes of travel; though a Yankee in these latter days seems to possess all the necessary dispositions to fit himself for the authorship of such a work, while the country of his birth presents sufficient inducements to propitiate the creation of a book of travel.

But I do not consider myself a tourist by any means, and these sudden and frequent changes of residence must be accounted for, on some other basis, than a mere disposition for travelling. When I returned to New England from Ohio, I thought that I could never be persuaded to leave my native state again. But carefully reviewing the features of that trip, I discovered that I had been defeated from carrying out my plans, by causes, which under other circumstances might not arise, and I should prove myself to be possessed of but very little spirit if I was subject to all the caprices which fortune might beset me with. Anybody endowed with common sense well knows that the great Western country is the field for young

men, while the east does not present any attractions, except in its Society, for this class of people to induce them to remain & settle there. If we can judge of causes by their effects, I cannot but believe that Providence had a special object in view, by my returning to Massachusetts a year ago, from that visit to Ohio, and my late sojourn in Massachusetts will eventually prove the two greatest blessing[s] that could have attended my past history. By the former I was made acquainted with the realities of life from home that upon the event of a second absence, I might make a correct estimate of the sunshine and the shade before starting, and thus avoid those mistaken [sic] conceptions of the world, that abuse every person's understanding previous to their experience in these matters. I presume that if this visit was the occasion of my first farewell to Friends, and the first introduction to strangers and their customs, I should not willingly submit to the exactions of duty. I have no doubt but what I should yield to the persuasive influences of home affections and soon be riding back to the "good old home." . . .

In my second leave taking of friends I start under different impressions and having now been absent nearly a fortnight from home, and not experiencing a home[sick] attack, I shall consider myself as a resident of this state for many years ere visiting my friends in the East. . . .

Mother and other friends were bade the Good Bye, and on Wednesday the 2nd day of May 1855, I started on my long journey to the West. . . .

I think I shall never forget that dreary ride over the Canada road. Very dark, rainy & cold was the night and very lazy was our Engine, & very snailishly was our motion, and everything was very disagreeable, and though I wrapped the warm shawl around me very closely, and tried to think that I felt quite comfortably, yet I could not help knowing that I was feeling very miserably. Travelling again from Home! I was reminded frequently of those desolate feelings [on the] still interesting ride, while journeying from New York to Dunkirk; yet now more forcibly struck with my lonely situation, by having some knowledge of the world into which I was to enter.

After a painful dragging along through the night and a very monotonous ride through the greater share of the day we reached Detroit, at about two o'clock P. M. After dinner — the Hotel I've forgotten — I sauntered out to view the "City of the Straits." The object of my greatest curiosity was

Lewis Cass' Residence,<sup>6</sup> wishing to know in what style the Senator "does" the retired, or private portion of his life. An Irishman pointed out the "General's" house, and I was soon surveying it, — a modest looking mansion, truly according probably with his democratic (?) notions "of how" men should live in the "Great Republic." A plain unassuming two story house, with a wing on the north side of considerable length, accommodated with a piazza and all painted with a light brown color. The house — built of wood — stands but a few feet from the street, but enjoys in the rear quite a large garden. After walking by the house a number of times vainly endeavoring to see the General, who, I was informed was then at his home, I turned my attention to other portions of the city. A number of very elegant residences I noticed in my ramblings, and some very pleasant streets, and though I was disappointed in the size of the city, expecting to have seen a larger city, yet I was much inclined to favorable impressions of what I did see. At 4 oclock I stepped into the cars for the purpose of securing a good comfortable single seat for my . . . [and here, abruptly and in the middle of a sentence, the diary ends.]

<sup>6</sup> Lewis Cass, Senator from Michigan, was a prominent figure of the time, having served in the War of 1812; been Secretary of War under Jackson; Governor of Michigan Territory; Democratic candidate for President in 1848; a supporter of Clay's Compromise of 1850; and the originator of the "popular sovereignty" principle incorporated by Stephen A. Douglas into the Kansas-Nebraska Act. *DAB*, 3:562-4.

## HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### *State Historical Society of Iowa*

During January, February, and March of 1957, the Society added 159 new members. Life Members added during this period were L. E. Wilson of Eagle Grove and Donald Seavy of Iowa City.

On February 7, 1957, the Society was host to 120 members at the Centennial Birthday Dinner in Iowa City. Three Awards by the American Association for State and Local History were presented at the dinner by Superintendent William J. Petersen: one to Philip Adler of Davenport in recognition of the services of the Lee Papers to Iowa history; one to Dr. Leland L. Sage of Iowa State Teachers College for his biography of William Boyd Allison, published by the Society in 1956; and one to the Society for the publication of the Allison biography. Superintendent Petersen gave a report at the dinner on "A Century of Service."

The records of the Manchester & Oneida Railroad have been presented to the Society by Hubert Carr of Manchester. Another contribution to our library was made by J. E. Jamison, who, at the suggestion of Albert J. Schwerin, presented the Society with 23 Burlington directories, dating back to 1893.

#### SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

January 15	Spoke to West Liberty Rotary Club.
January 17	Attended inaugural of Governor Herschel Loveless.
January 25	Spoke to Iowa Antique Association in Des Moines, and attended meeting of Prairie Club in Des Moines.
February 7	Addressed State Historical Society Centennial Birthday Dinner in Iowa City.
February 8	Conference on Centennial Building with Mrs. Elmer Taylor, president of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.
February 13	Met with Joint Committee of 57th General Assembly for observance of Centennial of the Constitution of 1857.
February 17	Attended the 116th Founders Day Program at Iowa Wesleyan College at Mount Pleasant.



- February 20 Spoke to Iowa City Lions Club.
- February 21 Attended 12th Annual Convention of the Iowa Agricultural Limestone Association in Des Moines.
- February 22 Conference with legislators on the State Historical Society's askings.
- February 22 Inspected new library addition of Central College at Pella.
- February 26 Dinner with subcommittee on appropriations at Des Moines Club.
- February 28 Attended funeral of Mrs. O. D. Collis at Clinton.
- March 1 Conference in Dubuque with Mrs. William Collings, State Historian of the D. A. R.
- March 1 Conference in Manchester with Hubert Carr on M. & O. records, and with Mrs. May M. Ryan on manuscript material.
- March 13 Discussed Centennial Building with state officers of the D. A. R. at Des Moines.
- March 14 Spoke before Joint Session of the 57th General Assembly at Centennial of the Constitution of 1857.
- March 14 Discussed State Historical Society Centennial Building at dinner at Des Moines Club for members of the Appropriations Committee of the 57th General Assembly.
- March 20 Met with subcommittee on State Offices Appropriations.
- March 25 Conference on Iowa Women's Heritage Room with Mrs. Elmer Taylor, President of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

## HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

### *Articles*

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES IN MIDWESTERN HISTORICAL JOURNALS

##### *Canals*

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##### *Civil War*

"The 'Swamp Fox,' Meriwether Jeff Thompson," by Howard I. McKee, *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, January, 1957.

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##### *Cultural*

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"Arts and Sciences on the Early American Frontier," by Thomas D. Clark, *Nebraska History*, December, 1956.

##### *Davis, Jefferson*

"Jefferson Davis and Kansas Territory," by Eugene T. Wells, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1956.

##### *Education*

"The Three Lives of Frank H. Hall [educator of the blind]," by Walter B. Hendrickson, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Autumn, 1956.

##### *Foreign Affairs*

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### *Ghost Towns*

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"Newspix and the Historical Perspective," by Paul Vanderbilt, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Spring, 1957.

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"The Journal of an 1859 Pike's Peak Gold Seeker," ed. by David Lindsey, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1956.

*Political*

"Shelby M. Cullom: Presidential Prospect," by William A. Pitkin, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Winter, 1956.

"David Rice Atchison: 'Faithful Champion of the South,'" by William E. Parrish, *Missouri Historical Review*, January, 1957.



"Nebraska and the Presidential Election of 1912," by Donald F. Danker, *Nebraska History*, December, 1956.

"The Farmer's Party," by Ernest I. Miller, *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, January, 1957.

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"The Ebenezer Alden, Jr., Letters from Iowa Territory," *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1957.

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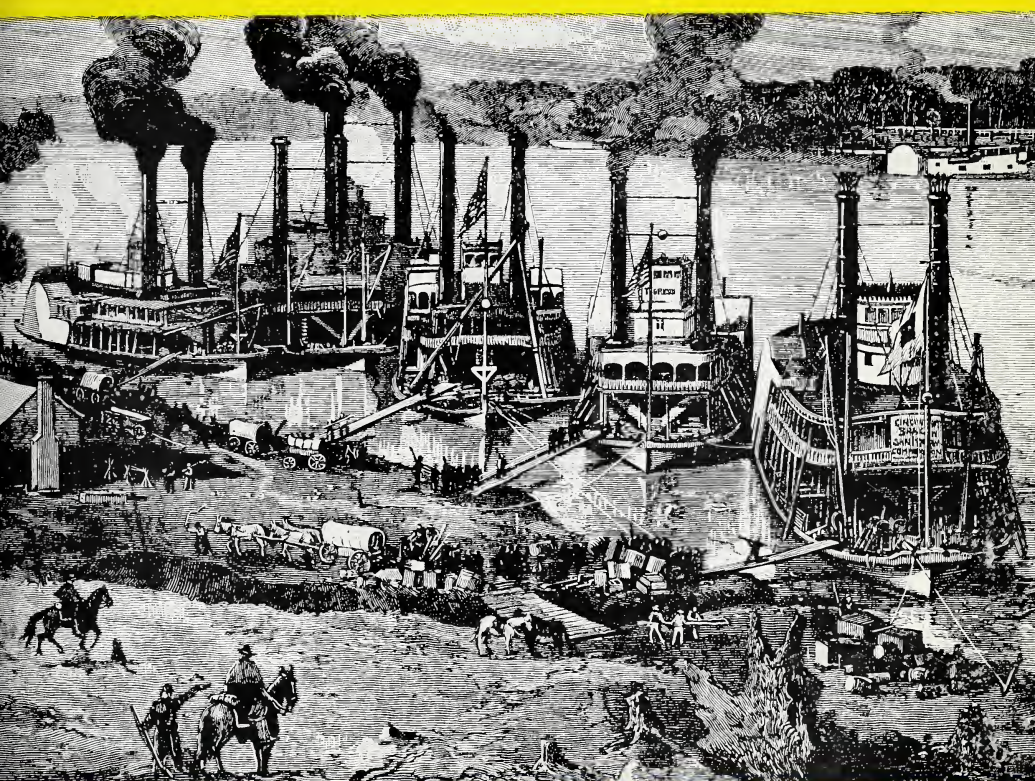
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# IOWA

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*Superintendent  
and Editor*

MILDRED THRONE

*Associate  
Editor*

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## COVER

*Steamboats at Pittsburg Landing, 1862*

From a photograph taken at Pittsburg Landing a few days after the battle. On the right is the *Tycoon*, which came from Cincinnati with stores for the wounded, while next to it is General Grant's headquarters boat, the *Tigress*. Across the river is the *Tyler*, one of the two gunboats that shelled the Confederates during the night of April 6-7. From *Century Magazine*, Vol. 31, p. 761, March, 1886.



# THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA 1955 - 1957

By *William J. Petersen\**

The State Historical Society of Iowa achieved new goals during the biennium 1955-1957. It has shown a net membership increase of 350 for the biennium. Its publication program has continued on the traditionally high plane that has become a target at which other societies aim. From a modest beginning nine years ago, its historical tours have expanded to include boat trips on both the Mississippi and Missouri, jointly sponsored railroad trips with the Iowa Chapter of the National Railway Historical Society, and well-attended overland tours to the Amana colonies and the Little Brown Church in the Vale that have attracted widespread publicity.

During the biennium we have succeeded in more than matching the \$100,000 goal needed to make us eligible to receive the \$200,000 appropriated by the 56th General Assembly toward the construction of a new State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building. Meanwhile, the 57th General Assembly granted the Society a modest increase in its regular appropriation, although it did not provide for the cost of moving into our new building, the cost of custodial services, and the additional help which will be needed to staff our new and growing library. As we enter our second century of service to the state of Iowa, our future seems bright indeed.

## *Membership Growth*

In my last report I indicated that the membership of the Society had increased from 60, at the time the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* was established in 1903, to 978 when *The Palimpsest* was founded in 1920. By 1940 the membership had risen to 1,560. Ten years ago, in July of 1947, our membership stood at 1,121; of these, 683 were active members and 438 were life members. At that time the five historical societies of the Upper Mississippi Valley ranked as follows in active and life membership: Missouri — 4,312; Wisconsin — 2,343; Illinois — 1,682; Minnesota — 1,674; Iowa — 1,121. In 1947 one-third of our counties had two or less

\*William J. Petersen is superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.



members — and six counties actually had no members. At that time it was determined to build up a larger and more evenly distributed membership. The compilation on page 195 reveals the growth our Society has enjoyed over the past five biennia.

Our membership of 5,250 in 1957 still places us second in the United States in total membership. It also represents the greatest percentage of membership increase of any Society in the United States over the past ten years. Only Missouri eclipses the Hawkeye State, but with its \$1.00 membership fee for its quarterly magazine, there is little chance of Iowa's overtaking our neighbor to the south.

During the past eight years our Society registered gains in active as well as life membership. The following figures should be gratifying:

*Iowa's Increase in Active and Life Members*

	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957
Active Members . . . . .	683	1,749	3,095	3,776	4,197	4,539
Life Members . . . . .	438	545	614	676	703	711
Total Members . . . . .	1,121	2,294	3,709	4,452	4,900	5,250
Net Gain . . . . .		1,173	1,415	743	448	350
Total Membership, 30 lowest counties . . . . .	80	146	306	288	328	363
Average Membership, 30 lowest counties . . . . .	2.6	4.9	10.2	9.6	10.7	12.1

The membership growth by counties presents a challenge to all members, particularly in those poorly-represented counties. If our members will only continue their warm support of our program, we should continue to register substantial gains. There is no reason why Monona County, with a population of 16,000, should count only 9 members, while Iowa County with a thousand fewer people should boast 73 members. A further comparison can be made between Linn and Woodbury counties with almost identical populations. Linn registered 326 members in 1957 compared with 42 for Woodbury. Not even the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition could awaken complacent Woodbury County. In contrast, three counties — Polk, Linn, and Johnson — have registered such spectacular gains that they now total almost as many members as did all ninety-nine counties plus out-of-state membership a short decade ago. And yet, curiously enough, the per cent gain of these three counties is not as great as for the entire state and nation.

## STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

*Membership Growth by County, 1947-1957*

County	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957	County	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957
Polk .....	127	186	315	420	426	434	Floyd .....	1	7	11	22	26	27
Linn .....	81	101	204	271	288	326	Jackson .....	4	5	22	28	25	27
Johnson .....	123	202	285	328	323	321	Sac .....	3	7	11	11	23	27
Scott .....	90	152	197	226	272	267	Van Buren ..	2	9	14	18	17	26
Black Hawk ..	48	93	138	160	189	191	Appanoose ..	8	12	39	25	25	25
Muscatine ...	8	22	71	75	93	101	Dickinson ...	6	32	28	22	24	25
Dubuque ....	25	46	71	75	78	84	Greene .....	4	11	22	20	28	25
Cerro Gordo ..	15	20	57	76	72	82	Warren .....	3	4	11	13	29	25
Washington ..	18	30	64	75	88	81	Calhoun .....	4	7	12	16	17	24
Des Moines ..	19	36	56	61	62	79	Buena Vista ..	0	6	16	14	17	22
Lee .....	20	43	58	65	72	79	Wright .....	5	9	16	16	18	22
Jasper .....	5	14	30	62	72	74	Allamakee ...	8	10	16	18	20	21
Iowa .....	15	38	68	66	74	73	Clay .....	2	16	21	23	24	21
Clinton .....	17	36	71	72	79	70	Sioux .....	2	9	15	19	21	21
Story .....	12	20	45	55	59	69	Union .....	2	6	14	14	14	21
Benton .....	13	23	52	65	62	62	Winnebago ..	0	4	7	13	16	21
Marshall ....	14	18	33	35	59	62	Cherokee ....	4	12	16	19	19	19
Cedar .....	10	26	42	55	66	57	Crawford ....	4	6	12	12	14	19
Wapello .....	14	44	60	67	69	57	Harrison .....	2	2	7	18	17	19
Page .....	6	13	31	33	35	56	Winnesheik ..	5	7	14	14	16	19
Hamilton ....	7	12	30	38	47	54	Hancock .....	4	7	12	12	18	18
Henry .....	9	11	23	26	39	54	Shelby .....	4	5	12	11	16	18
Webster .....	5	31	39	43	55	54	Palo Alto ....	4	9	17	19	19	17
Buchanan ...	7	13	27	31	42	49	Franklin .....	4	7	10	9	15	16
Louisa .....	8	24	25	46	38	48	Lyon .....	1	11	14	14	11	16
Bremer .....	7	10	21	22	35	46	O'Brien .....	5	18	18	18	18	16
Clayton .....	5	10	29	48	40	45	Lucas .....	3	4	9	9	8	15
Butler .....	4	6	18	18	43	44	Fremont .....	2	12	11	8	13	13
Poweshiek ...	6	11	25	39	36	44	Guthrie .....	5	7	9	9	12	13
Jones .....	8	17	23	28	39	43	Howard .....	1	1	8	8	11	13
Pottawattamie.	16	23	46	49	41	43	Worth .....	2	2	8	13	14	13
Delaware ....	1	15	19	29	37	42	Mitchell .....	4	6	4	5	8	12
Keokuk .....	12	17	35	40	41	42	Monroe .....	2	5	10	9	14	12
Woodbury ...	14	21	30	36	42	42	Plymouth ....	4	10	8	10	8	12
Fayette .....	6	9	25	28	40	41	Pocahontas ..	8	9	25	19	17	12
Carroll .....	5	15	23	25	28	39	Davis .....	2	2	6	5	6	11
Kossuth .....	4	24	29	37	40	37	Decatur .....	0	9	9	6	8	11
Tama .....	3	15	40	44	33	37	Ringgold ....	2	5	9	11	8	11
Boone .....	3	18	25	28	29	35	Audubon .....	0	9	10	8	7	10
Jefferson ....	12	23	30	30	42	35	Emmet .....	1	11	11	10	11	10
Montgomery ..	8	18	28	25	37	35	Ida .....	5	5	7	7	6	10
Humboldt ...	2	9	19	27	28	33	Madison ....	0	5	13	9	13	9
Hardin .....	4	8	15	20	16	32	Monona .....	5	5	9	13	15	9
Mills .....	5	9	18	21	29	32	Taylor .....	3	6	15	13	11	9
Marion .....	9	9	14	15	23	31	Adair .....	0	4	10	11	10	8
Grundy .....	8	21	30	27	24	30	Osceola .....	1	9	16	17	10	8
Chickasaw ...	2	4	6	7	29	29	Wayne .....	4	6	4	5	3	8
Cass .....	8	30	34	33	26	28	Adams .....	3	5	6	8	6	7
Dallas .....	9	16	19	22	28	28	Clarke .....	1	10	9	9	7	7
Mahaska ....	8	14	45	30	25	28							

There is plenty of opportunity for membership growth, particularly in the weaker counties in the state. Actually, 64 of our 99 counties gained in membership and 10 others remained the same.

*County Gain in Membership: 1955-1957*

Linn	38	Boone	6	Marshall	3
Page	21	Dubuque	6	Mills	3
Des Moines	17	Grundy	6	Ringgold	3
Hardin	16	Buena Vista	5	Winneshiek	3
Henry	15	Clayton	5	Black Hawk	2
Bremer	11	Crawford	5	Cass	2
Carroll	11	Davis	5	Harrison	2
Cerro Gordo	10	Delaware	5	Howard	2
Louisa	10	Humboldt	5	Jackson	2
Story	10	Lyon	5	Jasper	2
Van Buren	9	Wayne	5	Pottawattamie	2
Marion	8	Winnebago	5	Shelby	2
Muscatine	8	Ida	4	Adams	1
Polk	8	Jones	4	Allamakee	1
Poweshiek	8	Mitchell	4	Butler	1
Buchanan	7	Plymouth	4	Dickinson	1
Calhoun	7	Sac	4	Fayette	1
Hamilton	7	Tama	4	Floyd	1
Lee	7	Wright	4	Franklin	1
Lucas	7	Audubon	3	Guthrie	1
Union	7	Decatur	3	Keokuk	1
		Mahaska	3		

Despite the over-all net gain of 350 for the biennium, one must regret the fact that 25 counties declined in membership, even though 15 of the 25 sustained losses or three or less. Since it is important for our members to watch these trends and endeavor to correct them, the counties are listed herewith, with the number lost — total 97 — at the head of each group.

1 loss	Montgomery	4 losses	7 losses
Emmet	O'Brien	Madison	Jefferson
Iowa	Osceola	Warren	Washington
Webster	Palo Alto		
Worth	Taylor	5 losses	9 losses
		Pocahontas	Cedar
2 losses	3 losses	Scott	Clinton
Adair	Clay		
Johnson	Greene	6 losses	12 losses
Monroe	Kossuth	Monona	Wapello

It would be a real achievement if every county could have at least one member for every 1,000 inhabitants. At the present time our statewide membership is approximately two members for each 1,000 inhabitants, with Iowa County having five for every thousand. Woodbury, on the other hand, needs 104 members instead of its 42. It would seem our real work is to register gains in those counties that lag in membership. Does this wide gap in county membership indicate apathy or a possible lag in cultural interests?

## PUBLICATIONS

During the past two years *The Palimpsest* and the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY have appeared regularly. We print 6,250 copies of our monthly magazine regularly, but frequently receive heavy demands for extra copies so that our total printing of *The Palimpsest* generally runs well over 100,000 copies annually. The use of the monthly by schools and study clubs has grown to such an extent that it frequently serves as the primary source of information on the various topics under discussion. As a result of constant demands we issued a four-page pamphlet entitled *Selected Readings in Iowa History* which has proved invaluable to teachers and chairmen of study club programs. It also has saved our staff a tremendous amount of work in answering correspondence.

The wide variety of subjects treated is indicated by the following:

*The Palimpsest*

1955	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
July	Iowa in 1954	George S. May
Aug.	The 56th General Assembly of Iowa	Frank T. Nye
Sept.	The Baptists in Iowa	Frederick I. Kuhns
Oct.	Early Iowa in Fiction	John T. Frederick
Nov.	Ralph Budd: Railroad Entrepreneur	Richard C. Overton
Dec.	Butler's Capitol	William J. Petersen
1956	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
Jan.	Iowa's Consolidated Schools	George S. May
Feb.	Iowans in the State Department and in the Foreign Service	Homer L. Calkin
March	Scandinavian Settlement in Iowa	Leola N. Bergmann
April	A Davenport Boyhood	Harry Hansen
May	Industries of Iowa	George S. May and William J. Petersen



June	Memories of a Promoter	Frank R. Wilson and William J. Petersen
July	Iowa in 1955	George S. May
Aug.	Plowing Matches in Iowa	William J. Petersen, Herb Plambeck, E. K. Shaw, and Keith Kirkpatrick
Sept.	The Centennial of a Farm Paper	Donald R. Murphy
Oct.	Iowa in Biography	John T. Frederick
Nov.	Mormon Trails in Iowa	William J. Petersen
Dec.	Christmas in Iowa	William J. Petersen
1957	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
Jan.	The Fairfield <i>Ledger</i>	Wallace E. Sherlock
Feb.	Indians of Iowa	C. R. Keyes, F. R. Aumann, H. Wylie, J. E. Briggs, J. A. Swisher, B. E. Mahan, R. A. Gallaher, and William J. Petersen
March	Iowa	B. F. Shambaugh, F. L. Mott, Jacob Van Ek, B. E. Mahan, R. A. Gallaher, and William J. Petersen
April	Daughters of Hawkeyeland	William J. Petersen, Philip D. Jordan, Ruth A. Gallaher, Marie Haefner, and Cornelia M. Barnhart
May	Quarrying in Iowa	Charles S. Gwynne, William J. Petersen
June	The Spirit Lake Massacre	William J. Petersen

*Iowa Journal of History*

During the same period our quarterly magazine has stood at the forefront among the publications issued by state historical societies. It has published a wide variety of scholarly yet readable articles that have attracted widespread interest among our membership as well as among professional historians. The following monographs have appeared during the biennium:

*Iowa Journal of History*

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
July, 1955	"The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955-1957"	William J. Petersen
	"The University as Head of the Iowa Public School System"	Vernon Carstensen
	"The King Road Drag in Iowa, 1905-1920"	George S. May
	"Iowa Republicans and the Railroads, 1856-1860"	David S. Sparks
October, 1955	"The Uses of History"	Waldemar Westergaard
January, 1956	"The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1854-1856"	David S. Sparks
	"The Mining Camps of Iowa: Faded Sources of Hawkeye History"	Robert Rutland
April, 1956	"The Iowa Judicial System"	Russell M. Ross
	"Politics and Society in Sioux City, 1859"	Robert Edson Lee
July, 1956	"Des Moines University and Dr. T. T. Shields"	George S. May
	"The Governors of Iowa as Educational Leaders, 1838 to 1949"	Irving H. Hart
	"Fort Dodge and the Des Moines Valley Railroad"	Mildred Throne
October, 1956	"Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company v. Iowa"	George H. Miller
	"John Beach and the Removal of the Sauk and Fox from Iowa"	Donald J. Berthrong
January, 1957	"David B. Henderson: Speaker of the House"	Willard L. Hoing
April, 1957	"The Development of the Iowa Constitution of 1857"	Russell M. Ross
	"State Support of Higher Education in Iowa"	Irving H. Hart
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Editor</i>
October, 1955	"Civil War Letters of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry"	Mildred Throne
January, 1956	"Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862"	Mildred Throne

<i>Issue</i>		<i>Author</i>
April, 1956	"The California Journey of George D. Magoon, 1852-1854"	Mildred Throne
January, 1957	"A History of Company D, Eleventh Iowa Infantry, 1861-1865"	Mildred Throne
April, 1957	"The Diary of a Law Student, 1853-1855"	Mildred Throne
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Source Material</i>	
October, 1955	"David Brant's Iowa Political Sketches"	
January, 1956	"A County Political Convention in 1872"	
April, 1956	"The Iowa State Fair of 1856"	
October, 1956	"Mahony-Smith Letters on the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad, 1857"	
April, 1957	"Contemporary Editorial Opinion of the 1857 Constitution"	

*Two Books Issued During Biennium*

During the biennium two outstanding books were published by the Society. Leland Sage's *William Boyd Allison*, the biography of one of Iowa's most distinguished citizens, is the eighteenth full-length volume in our Biographical Series. The book fills an important gap in Iowa history during the last half of the nineteenth century, covering the period from Allison's arrival in Dubuque in 1857 to his death there in 1908. Allison represented Iowa for forty-three years in Washington, thirty-five in the United States Senate (1873-1908), one of the longest terms on record. The book has been warmly received by members and the press, and professional reviews have been highly complimentary. Professor George L. Anderson of the University of Kansas wrote: "This study helps to round out the biographical treatment of the outstanding national political figures of the last half of the nineteenth century. Because of its wealth of detail it will be a 'must' for students of the history of Iowa." James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska wrote: "Professor Sage has produced one of the most elucidating political biographies on an important American nineteenth-century figure." Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania writes that Leland Sage has "done a 'bang-up' job of political sequences; it should be a long time before any student of Allison's job-keeping can

hope to do anything better. . . . His book is particularly distinguished for forthrightness, persistent avoidance of hero worship, eschewing of oversimplification of issues, keen awareness of the infinite complexity of political situations, unwillingness to claim that the last word has been said, and some readiness to make positive alternate guesses as to what may have motivated a decision. Surely such qualities are invaluable and far from easy for biographers to maintain."

A second volume, a reprint of John B. Newhall's *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, is at the printers at the close of the present biennium and will be bound and distributed to members shortly. This volume will join such reprints as *Black Hawk's Autobiography*, A. M. Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, John Plumbé, Jr., *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin*, and *Gal-land's Iowa Emigrant*, all extremely rare volumes that have become highly prized by members of the Society and are of inestimable value to students and scholars. The Newhall book will prove interesting and informative to our members, since it actually contains more solid material than any of the above mentioned reprints. This volume will be followed by other important books, the next of which will be Thomas R. Ross's *Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver*, which will be followed by other full-length biographies and histories.

In addition to the above, the Society has issued regularly its *News for Members*, which continues to alert members on the activities of the Society. *News for Members* has been responsible for bringing many valuable manuscripts, photographs, maps, and books into our possession. It is equally significant in chronicling the history and development of the Society, particularly in these last few years when every effort has been bent toward securing a home of its own in its Centennial Building. Members should continue to respond to our appeal for photographs, manuscripts, diaries, newspaper files, industrial records, catalogs, and house organs, all of which will make us a more effective historical institution.

Another publication, *Iowa History News Flashes*, goes out to over 500 newspaper editors, providing them with feature articles and fillers for their papers. It helps to bring Iowa history down to the very grass roots.

#### THE LIBRARY

During the biennium 1955-1957 the library acquired 1,455 books in addition to numerous maps, pamphlets, pictures, and manuscripts. Most of these latter, in addition to many of the books, have come to us as gifts of



the donors. We still need more city directories and telephone directories, both old and new, to build up our collection in this department. We also want to expand our holdings of plat books and atlases, and we especially would be grateful for some of the more recent ones, say 1920-1957, which have been overlooked while we have sought out the older ones.

College and high school annuals are of inestimable value to us. We hope more families will remember us before destroying them. School superintendents will do the Society a great favor by placing us on their mailing lists to receive their annuals regularly in the future. These annuals are indispensable for telling the history of high schools and recording school activities over the decades. The fine issues of *The Palimpsest* on Girls' Basketball and Boys' Basketball could not have been prepared without the help of such annuals. But there are other areas of school life besides athletics, such as music, theater, debates, that can be studied in these annuals.

#### *Postcards*

We believe members can do much to improve our publication program by sending us photographs and postcards relating to their home town and community. Life on Main Street, whether in Deep River, What Cheer, Lost Nation, Calliope, or Morning Sun, will become more meaningful if we can secure a rather complete collection of photos of courthouses, libraries, churches, schools, manufacturing plants, swimming pools, golf courses, parks, railroad stations, post offices, and garages that will be useful to us in preparing articles on various subjects.

In addition to commercial photos, the Society would benefit if members sent in more personal photos, both current and old-time pictures. For old-time pictures the following are suggested.

<i>Outdoor Scenes</i>	<i>Indoor Scenes</i>	<i>Holidays</i>
Picnics (church & school)	Church suppers	New Year's
Baseball	PTA meetings	Easter
Football	General stores	Arbor Day
Chautauqua	Blacksmith shops	Memorial Day
Fire departments	Drugstores	Flag Day
Circus	School programs	Fourth of July
Carnivals	Ice cream parlors	Labor Day
County fairs	Barber shops	Armistice
Boat regattas	Photo salons	Thanksgiving
Plowing matches	Groceries	Christmas
Husking contests	Meat markets	

## HISTORICAL TOURS

*A Decade of Steamboat Excursions: 1948-1957*

When our first Mississippi River steamboat excursions were inaugurated in 1948 there was no thought of establishing them as annual events. The wonderful hospitality of Commodore O. D. Collis aboard his *Rob Roy III*, combined with the All-Iowa Menu created by Mrs. William J. Petersen, gained national recognition for the Society in such publications as the *New York Times* and the *Ford Times*. As a result of this publicity we have received requests from people all over the nation asking for permission to make one of these Mississippi cruises. During the seven years the trips were made on the *Rob Roy III*, the Society established an enviable reputation for its unique methods of promoting the cause of state and local history. When it became impossible for Commodore Collis to continue these trips because of his health, we were fortunate in arranging tours on the Missouri River with the United States Army Engineers and on the Mississippi between Keokuk and Nauvoo on Captain H. Andressen's fine boat, the *Addie May*.

*Tracing History up the Big Muddy*

In 1956 the Society ran its third annual cruise on the Missouri River with the United States Army Engineers. The first was made in 1954 aboard the *John Ordway* to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition up the Missouri past the western border of Iowa. The next two trips were made with the *Patrick Gass* as towboat. For these two trips, the United States Engineers provided a barge from which 100 members of the Society could view the work of the Engineers and learn the history of the river. Although the Society had three times the number of applicants for these trips than could be accommodated, it was necessary to limit the number for each trip to one hundred. Since most of our members along the Missouri found it impossible to drive all the way across the state for our Mississippi trips, we reserved two-thirds of the space on our Missouri trips for those living on the Missouri slope, even though it would have been possible to fill the reservations with members living east of Des Moines. We are negotiating for a fourth Missouri River trip, basing our hopes on statements by General William E. Potter and Col. T. J. Hayes that our Society members have made these trips with the avowed purpose of learning Missouri River history and the problems facing the Army Engi-

neers in 1956. During the 1956 trip, for example, Colonel Thomas J. Hayes gave a thirty-five-minute lecture following which a dozen members of the General Assembly who were aboard asked if a special conference could be held with Colonel Hayes. The Colonel was delighted to comply, and an hour's session was held in the galley of the *Patrick Gass* with Colonel Hayes answering questions lying uppermost in the legislators' minds; and he, in turn, receiving valuable information from them. It is hoped that similar trips can be arranged in the future, as they provide members with a richer understanding of the history as well as the complex problems of the stream that forms our western boundary.

*Aboard the Addie May on the Mississippi*

In 1955 we made our first cruise between Keokuk and Nauvoo aboard the *Addie May*. This area, generally known as Lake Keokuk, or Lake Cooper (for the builder of the Keokuk dam), is a beautiful and impressive stretch of the Mississippi containing so much of historical interest that it justly deserves to be called the "Cradle of Iowa History." Not only did all the great explorers, such as Joliet-Marquette, Aco-Hennepin, and Zebulon M. Pike, pass through this area, but it was the scene of many of the first episodes in Iowa history. The Spanish land grant to Louis Honore Tesson in 1799 included the site of present-day Montrose, the picturesque Iowa town that lies directly across the Mississippi from historic Nauvoo. Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny erected Fort Des Moines No. 1 at this same point in 1834, and the town of Montrose was established there following the evacuation of the fort in 1837. The southern half of Lee County was set aside as the Half-breed Tract in 1824 and was settled by whites before the Black Hawk purchase. The relation to this area of such personalities as Zachary Taylor, Dr. Isaac Galland, Dr. Samuel C. Muir and a host of others was explained as the *Addie May* churned along the eastern border of Iowa. Since the inauguration of our Keokuk-Nauvoo trips in 1955, the Nauvoo Historical Society and the Lee County Historical Society have begun historical tours. Members who participated in these trips in 1957 were delighted; Professor G. Arthur Luther of Charles City, a well-traveled educator, declared that his tour of Keokuk was one of the most interesting and rewarding experiences he has had anywhere in this country. As suggested in *News for Members*, the Keokuk tour is likely to develop into one of the most unique in the upper Mississippi Valley.

*Trip to the Little Brown Church in 1955*

One of the largest and most rewarding Society tours was made to the Little Brown Church at Bradford (Nashua) on October 9, 1955. Several hundred members of the Society met with the Chickasaw County Historical Society to observe the centennial of the Little Brown Church. The church and basement were packed, and an overflow crowd listened to the program over the public address system outside. Governor Leo Hoegh attended the services, and Mrs. Hoegh led the congregation in singing "The Little Brown Church in the Vale." The Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa spoke on the significance of religion in Iowa history. It is worth recording that the Chickasaw County Historical Society cleared \$210 on the dinner it served Society members. The money will be used to complete its new museum. After the dinner, and a tour of the museum, an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History was presented to the Chickasaw County Historical Society for its outstanding work in membership, marking historical sites, and establishing a museum.

*Amana Tours Continue Popular*

Two outstanding tours were made to the Amana colonies during the biennium. The William J. Petersens conducted the Legislative Ladies League on a tour of historic Amana in May of 1957. Over forty ladies, including Mrs. Herschel Loveless, made the tour. William Leichsenring, proprietor of the Ox Yoke Inn, tendered the ladies a breakfast, and George Foerstner and Amana Refrigerator, Inc., were hosts to them at a luncheon at the Ox Yoke Inn. Marvin Dickel spoke to the group in the Homestead church.

The Petersens also directed 175 members of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs from all parts of Iowa on a tour of the Amana colonies on June 12, 1957. The group was headed by its state president, Mrs. Clark Mechem of Thompson. Dr. Henry Moershel, a life member of the State Historical Society, spoke to the group in the Homestead church. Several hundred club members had applied for this tour, but only 175 could be accommodated. The mass participation in all these tours — river and overland — attests the continued interest in state and local history. As one grateful member remarked following his trip on the *Addie May*: "The privilege of making that trip was worth much more than my annual dues to the Society."



*Society Should Encourage Other Historical Tours*

The tremendous interest of our citizens in historical tours is highly encouraging, more particularly since Iowa scarcely bears the palm when it comes to preserving or marking its historic sites. Eleven years ago, in 1946, I had the pleasure of speaking in Dubuque on the occasion of the State Centennial. In my speech, I emphasized the tremendous possibilities open to Dubuque in attracting tourists from the Chicago-Milwaukee area to northeast Iowa if adequate opportunities were offered them for travel, recreation, and sports. The mighty Mississippi, the archeology of the area, the scenic beauty of the region, and its rich history — all combine to make this region a tourist's paradise whose possibilities are virtually unlimited. In order to realize this, it would be necessary to have better roads to historic spots, state parks with adequate facilities, first-class motels and hotels with excellent eating places, and ample opportunities for trips of all kinds on the Mississippi.

During our biennium an enterprising Dubuquer, Henry Miller of the Dubuque Boat & Boiler Works, made two boats available for short trips out of Dubuque. While in Chicago last summer I learned from Burlington Railroad officials that the one-day Galena-Dubuque railroad excursion had developed into the most popular one on the Burlington system. But Iowa (except for the Dubuque boat trips) gained little from this excursion, since no stops were made to travel, eat, or sleep in the area. Furthermore, when I discussed the possibilities of running a tour for State Historical Society members on one of the Dubuque boats, I learned that neither boat was capable of making the round-trip from Dubuque to Guttenburg in one day, or indeed, capable of going farther than Guttenburg in a single day. This, of course, defeats the desire of many who would like to take a more extended trip on the Mississippi.

In order to do its part in promoting tours to this scenic and historic region, the State Historical Society will sponsor several pilot trips to northeastern Iowa. In addition it plans, at an early date, to produce an issue of *The Palimpsest* on historic northeast Iowa with a view to encouraging Iowans and tourists from outside the state to come and enjoy our scenic and historic "Switzerland of Iowa." With this in mind, a day was recently spent mapping out a tour of northeastern Iowa for the coming year.

## STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY CENTENNIAL BUILDING

Two years ago I described in detail the steps that led the 56th General

Assembly to appropriate \$200,000 for a State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building contingent on the Society's matching this sum with \$100,000 of its own funds. At our last biennial meeting I was able to report that \$25,000 had already been raised or pledged but that \$100,000 in cash must be on hand in order to entitle the Society to the \$200,000 appropriated by the General Assembly.

Fortunately, the Society had received tremendous support from press and radio throughout our campaign to secure legislative assistance. Many warm friends rallied to our cause, and by letter and spoken word did much to enlist aid for our proposed Centennial Building. Many of the most ardent supporters had had personal experience over the years in climbing the 86 steps that lead to our offices and library. They were quite aware of the crowded conditions in our basement and library, a condition that has led the chairman of the Interim Committee to report that the Society's problem was more acute than any other he had seen during his visit to Iowa City.

Our willingness to raise \$100,000, our cramped quarters in Schaeffer Hall, the need of the University for additional space in this building, the enthusiastic support of the press and radio — all were important in gaining legislative backing and in securing additional contributions from various sources. As a result it was possible for me to report, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Society on February 7, 1957, that the goal of \$100,000 in cash available had been reached. On a more somber note, I also had to report that the cost of building had gone up approximately 10 per cent since we initiated our dream building and that at least another \$125,000 would be required adequately to furnish the new structure with steel shelving and other equipment. At the 1957 biennial meeting I was happy to report that we now had cash available totaling approximately \$118,000 with another \$10,000 in pledges that, with interest, will bring our Centennial Building fund to \$330,000. We must look to the Interim Committee, or the General Assembly, for additional aid in furnishing and equipping the building. Happily, some generous contributions have already been made in this direction, and it is to be devoutly hoped that the legislators will be generous and match our efforts with a substantial contribution.

A feature of our fund-raising campaign has been the efforts of individuals and groups to sponsor separate rooms in the Centennial Building. This was started when the Lee Papers and their families contributed \$7,500 for a microfilm room. Members of the Iowa Daily Press Association are con-

centrating on a room to house the bound volumes of Iowa newspapers. A goal of \$15,000 has been set for this stack room, and almost \$5,000 has already been subscribed by eight dailies. General Hanford MacNider's name will be associated with a room housing material relating to World War I and World War II, in addition to his own personal career. The Women's Relief Corps has undertaken the raising of \$5,000 for a room dealing with the history and literature of the Civil War. The Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs is sponsoring an Iowa Women's Heritage Room and has pledged \$5,000 toward this project. Equally generous contributions have been made by Frank C. Allen of North English and Dorothy Musser of Tucson, Arizona. The Iowa chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has pledged \$1,000 to furnish and equip a Genealogical Room and has urged members to contribute to the same project. Such contributions, combined with those made by various Iowa industries, assure the completion of a Centennial Building. We devoutly hope that contributions like the above will continue to come in, and that we can record the completion of our new home in 1959, with the 51st Biennial Meeting actually held in it.

# IOWA AND THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

By *Mildred Throne*\*

A member of the 3rd Iowa Regiment has left this succinct description of the first day of the battle of Shiloh:

Surprised at seven, and our front line broken; reinforced and confident at ten; stubborn at twelve; desperate at two; our lines crumbling away at three; broken at four; routed and pulverized at five; at six, rallying for a last desperate stand.<sup>1</sup>

Seymour D. Thompson, the author of these words, enlisted in the 3rd Iowa at the age of nineteen as a third sergeant in Company F.<sup>2</sup> He, with thousands of other Iowans, fought through the terrible two-day battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, and, with dozens of others, later wrote memories of that conflict.

The stories they left, even the official reports of the officers, conflict in many respects. For years so-called "historians" of the Civil War continued to circulate accounts of the battle written by participants and by the newspaper correspondents who obtained their information from frightened stragglers who had deserted their posts at the first shots and had fled to the rear of the battle, huddling in hysterical masses on the banks of the Tennessee River at the steamboat landing known as Pittsburg.<sup>3</sup> These stories pictured the Union army as completely surprised by the Confederate attack, many of the men captured in their tents or at breakfast, and the whole front line broken at the first onslaught. Excited letters from the men to parents and newspapers added to the misconceptions of the battle. A great hue and cry arose in the North against the commanding general, Ulysses S. Grant, so

\*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> S. D. Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa Regiment* (Cincinnati, 1864), 209-210.

<sup>2</sup> *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 1:387. (Hereafter listed as *Roster and Record*.)

<sup>3</sup> Joseph W. Rich, *The Battle of Shiloh* (Iowa City, 1911), 13-21. Whitelaw Reid's report to the Cincinnati *Gazette* was the basis for many of the later accounts of the battle, in spite of the fact that some of the Union officers' reports were published in 1862 in Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record* . . . (11 vols., New York, 1861-1868), 4:356-417. Reid's newspaper story is reprinted in *ibid.*, 385-400.



recently the hero of Fort Donelson, and repercussions reached Washington. But when politicians urged Lincoln to remove Grant, the President replied, "I can't spare that man; he fights!"<sup>4</sup>

Until Shiloh, the Civil War, to the people of the Middle West, was a distant fight in Virginia. True, there had been skirmishes and small battles in Missouri and Arkansas, in which Middle Western troops had taken part; there had been the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson in February. But the real "war," to the people of Iowa, Illinois, and the surrounding states, was being fought in the East by General George B. McClellan and the Army of the Potomac. They were sure he would soon be victorious and that the "rebellion" would then be over.

But with April 6-7, 1862, the war came home to the Middle West. The regiments in the Armies of the Tennessee and the Ohio that fought at Shiloh were from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and one lone regiment from as far east as Pennsylvania. Similarly, the troops of the Confederate army were from the western states of the South — Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Texas, and Alabama, and one regiment each from Florida and Missouri. Thus, the battle of Shiloh was strictly a Western fight, both North and South. The total number of Northern men at Pittsburg Landing on April 6 was 39,830, with 5,837 more at Crump's Landing a few miles to the north. Buell's Army of the Ohio, a part of which arrived on the evening of April 6, contained 17,918. If all these men had been in action, the Union army would have numbered 63,585 during the two days of the battle. Grant later claimed only 33,000 at Pittsburg on April 6, plus 5,000 from Lew Wallace and 20,000 from Buell, for a total of 58,000. "Excluding the troops who fled, panic-stricken, before they had fired a shot," Grant added, "there was not a time during the 6th when we had more than 25,000 men in line." The eleven Iowa regiments in the Army of the Tennessee contained 6,583 men.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals* (New York, 1952), 86.

<sup>5</sup> Figures compiled from D. W. Reed, *The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged* (Washington, 1903), 90-102. The totals Reed uses are from company "For Duty" reports made on April 3-5, 1862. However, another column headed "Total Present" usually gives an entirely different figure. If the Iowa regiments are counted in the latter column, their total is 7,805; if in the "For Duty" column, 6,583. This same discrepancy applies to all other regiments, so that the actual number of men who fought at Shiloh is uncertain. In the total figure for the number in the Army of the Tennessee there is a difference of some 10,000 between "For Duty" and

These troops were green — young boys from the towns and farms of the Middle West, many of whom had not even fired their new guns. "Three of the five divisions engaged on Sunday," wrote Grant, "were entirely raw, and many of the men had only received their arms on the way from their States to the field. Many of them had arrived but a day or two before and were hardly able to load their muskets according to the manual. Their officers were equally ignorant of their duties."<sup>6</sup>

Grant's Army of the Tennessee consisted of six divisions, five of which were at Pittsburg Landing on the morning of April 6, while the sixth, under Major General Lew Wallace, was encamped at Crump's Landing some four or five miles north of Pittsburg. Grant's First Division was commanded by Major General John A. McClernand; his Second, by Brigadier General W. H. L. Wallace (who had been given the Division when its commander, C. F. Smith, had taken ill); his Third, by Lew Wallace; his Fourth by Brigadier General S. A. Hurlbut; his Fifth, by Brigadier General W. T. Sherman; and his Sixth, by Brigadier General B. M. Prentiss.<sup>7</sup>

Only two of the general officers of the Army of the Tennessee were West Point trained — Grant and Sherman. Hurlbut and McClernand, both of Illinois — lawyers and politicians — had received commissions as brigadier generals on the outbreak of the war. Prentiss, also from Illinois, had had experience in the Mexican War, had been made colonel of the 10th Illinois in 1861, and had been promoted to brigadier general almost at once. Lew Wallace, also a lawyer with experience in the Mexican War, had risen from adjutant general of Indiana, to colonel of the 11th Indiana, to a major general after Donelson. W. H. L. Wallace, another Illinois lawyer, had served in the Mexican War, had begun his Civil War career as a colonel of the 11th Illinois, had been made a brigadier general in March, 1862, and had been given Smith's Second Division on April 3, 1862. The arrival of the Army of the Ohio, under Don Carlos Buell, brought the third West Pointer to the field.<sup>8</sup>

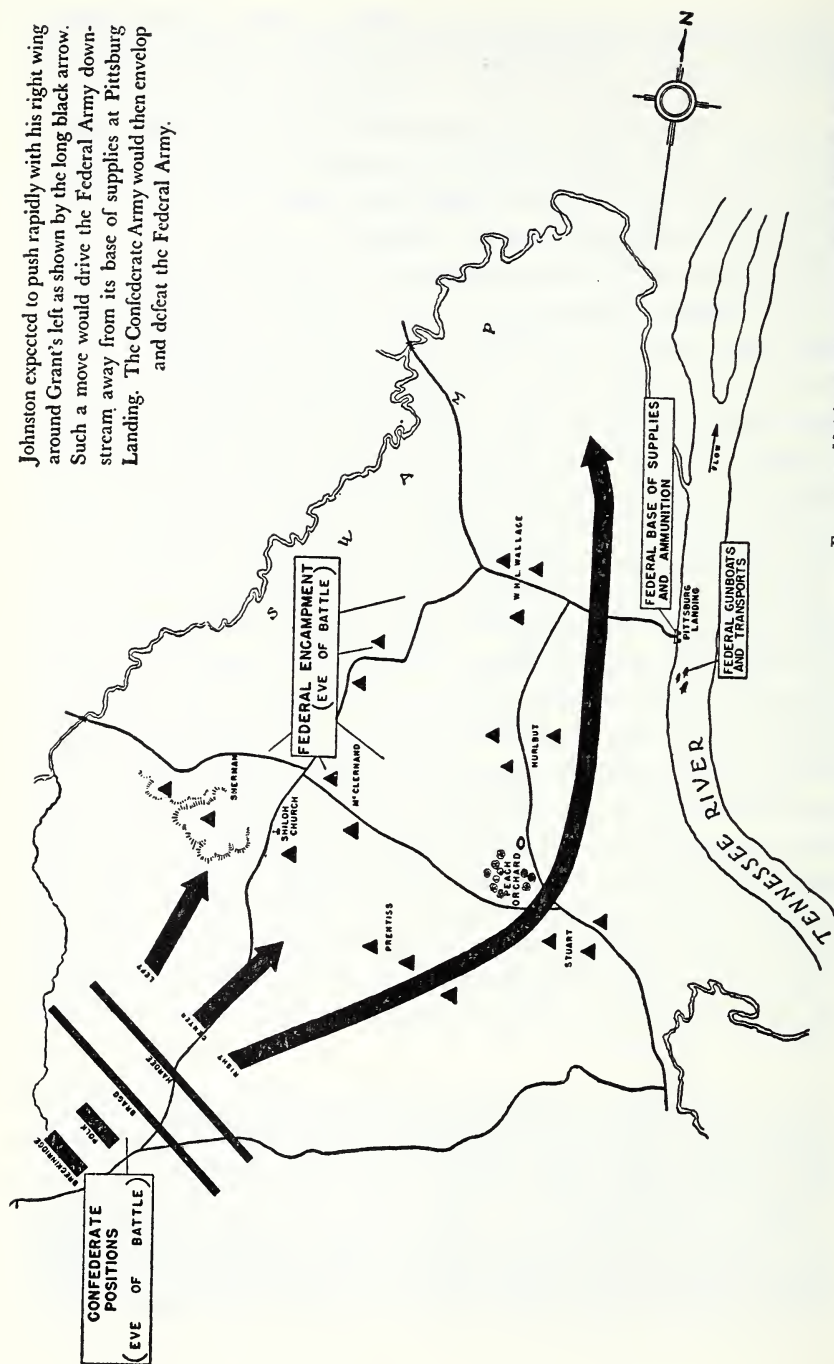
"Total Present" columns. Reed takes the "For Duty" column as more reliable, and uses that figure — 39,830 — for the total number of men Grant had at Pittsburg Landing on the morning of April 6. *Ibid.*, 98. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:366. (Hereafter listed as *Grant, Memoirs*.)

<sup>6</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:342.

<sup>7</sup> *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 100-104. (Hereafter listed as *Official Records*. Unless otherwise indicated, all references in this article are to this volume.)

<sup>8</sup> For Prentiss, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15:188; Hurlbut, *ibid.*, 9:

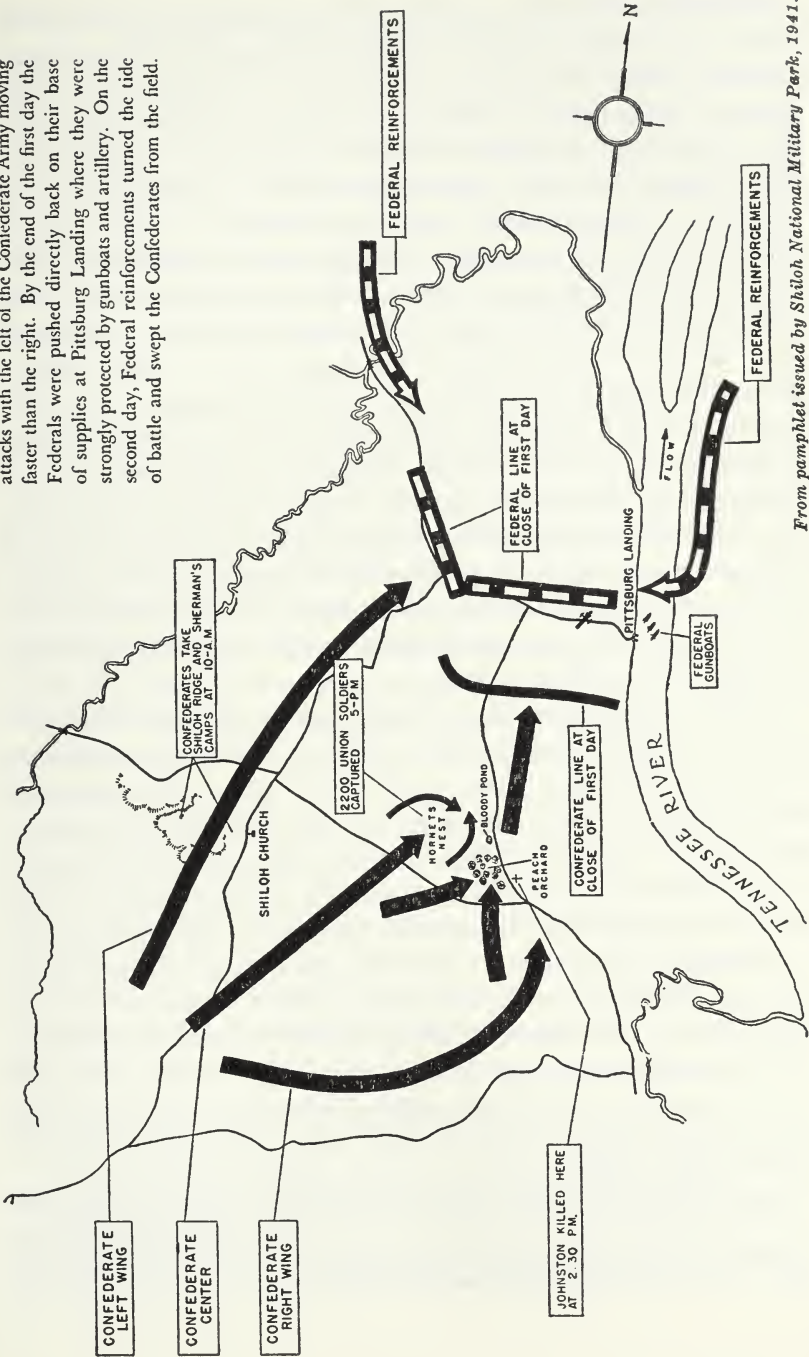
Johnston expected to push rapidly with his right wing around Grant's left as shown by the long black arrow. Such a move would drive the Federal Army downstream away from its base of supplies at Pittsburg Landing. The Confederate Army would then envelop and defeat the Federal Army.



*From pamphlet issued by Shiloh National Military Park, 1941.*

## THE CONFEDERATE PLAN OF ATTACK

The battle of Shiloh developed into a series of frontal attacks with the left of the Confederate Army moving faster than the right. By the end of the first day the Federals were pushed directly back on their base of supplies at Pittsburg Landing where they were strongly protected by gunboats and artillery. On the second day, Federal reinforcements turned the tide of battle and swept the Confederates from the field.



*From pamphlet issued by Shiloh National Military Park, 1941.*

THE BATTLE AS IT WAS ACTUALLY FOUGHT



In contrast to the Union army, West Point had trained most of the leaders of the Confederate troops. The commanding general, Albert Sidney Johnston, and his second in command, P. G. T. Beauregard, were both graduates of the military academy; Major General Braxton Bragg of the Second Corps and Major General William J. Hardee of the Third were West Pointers; even Major General Leonidas Polk, an Episcopal bishop in civil life, had attended West Point before turning to the church. Only John C. Breckinridge, leading the reserve corps, was not a professional military man, his fighting experience being limited to the Mexican War. Many of the division commanders were also veterans of the Mexican War, and one — Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson — was a West Pointer.<sup>9</sup> Others had backgrounds similar to those of the Union commanders — law, business, politics. The famous Confederate cavalry commander, Nathan Bedford Forrest, who was at Shiloh, had had no previous military experience but had raised and equipped his own troop of horsemen and with them had escaped from Fort Donelson just fifteen minutes before the Fort fell.<sup>10</sup> Thus the general officers of the Army of the Mississippi under Johnston had the edge on Grant's Army of the Tennessee as far as training and experience go, but the men in the Southern ranks were just as inexperienced in warfare as were Grant's soldiers.

On the regimental level in the Union army, if the Iowa colonels and majors were typical — and there is no reason to believe they were not — the command situation was even worse. Of the eleven Iowa regiments at Shiloh — the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th — only one, the 12th, had a West Point graduate in command, Joseph J. Woods. Colonel Marcellus M. Crocker of the 13th had studied at West Point for two years before ill health had forced him to leave; Colonel Alexander Chambers of the 16th was from the regular army; Colonel James C. Parrott of the 7th had, as a young man, served for a time in the United States Dragoons; and Colonel William T. Hall of the 11th had studied at a military institute in Kentucky before turning to the law. The other colo-

425-6; McClelland, *ibid.*, 11:587-8; Lew Wallace, *ibid.*, 19:375-6; Buell, *ibid.*, 3:240-41. For W. H. L. Wallace, see Isabell Wallace, *Life & Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace* (Chicago, 1909).

<sup>9</sup> For the commanders of the "Army of the Mississippi," see *Official Records*, 382-4. For biographical sketches, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* (4 vols., New York, 1949-1956), 3:255. For brief sketch of Forrest, see *DAB*, 6:532-3.

nels were businessmen, lawyers, railroad builders — men whose prominence in their communities had led to their commissions.<sup>11</sup> Many of them would rise in rank during the war, several becoming brigadier generals. In fact, of the fourteen brigades at Shiloh on the first day of the battle, five were commanded by Iowans, while one colonel, James M. Tuttle of the 2nd Iowa, would take over a division after its general, W. H. L. Wallace, was mortally wounded. In spite of their nonmilitary backgrounds, Iowa's regimental commanders did well at Shiloh. Only one, a lieutenant colonel of the 6th Iowa, was not equal to the task; he was drunk. Placed under arrest by Colonel J. A. McDowell, the officer was later discharged by a military commission.<sup>12</sup>

The raw Iowa troops on the field at Shiloh were typical of the other Middle Western regiments and their officers that day. The wonder is, in the story of this battle, not that some of the men broke and ran at the first boom of the Confederate cannon, but that so many of them stood their ground and fought through a long and terrible day without flinching.

The site for the gathering of the Union forces had been chosen by Major General Charles F. Smith in mid-March. Grant, in temporary disgrace because of a misunderstanding about his reports after the capture of Fort Donelson, had been removed from command of the Army of the Tennessee and replaced by General Smith. However, when Smith became ill, Grant was restored to command and had joined the troops at Pittsburg on March 17.<sup>13</sup>

Grant set up his headquarters at Savannah, Tennessee, some nine miles north of Pittsburg Landing. On Friday, April 4, his horse had fallen with him, and the General nursed a sprained ankle on Saturday and did not make his daily visit to the camps at Pittsburg. He intended to move his headquarters to Pittsburg as soon as Buell and the Army of the Ohio, which was on its way from Nashville, arrived to reinforce him. Buell was expected in the vicinity of Pittsburg by April 5. From there, the two armies planned to march against Corinth, Mississippi, some twenty miles to the southwest, where the Confederates under Albert Sidney Johnston were en-

<sup>11</sup> For the regimental commanders, see A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), *passim*; and *Roster and Record*, Vols. 1, 2, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Henry H. Wright, *A History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry* (Iowa City, 1923), 80, 112; *Roster and Record*, 1:792.

<sup>13</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:330; *Personal Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:255-6. (Hereafter listed as *Sherman, Memoirs*.)

trenched — or so the Union generals thought. These movements were under the over-all direction of the commander of the Department of the Mississippi, Major General Henry W. Halleck, whose headquarters were at St. Louis. Since Grant and Buell were of equal rank, their armies were to operate separately except in case of attack, in which event Buell was to place himself under Grant's orders.<sup>14</sup>

Near the southern border of Tennessee, the Tennessee River makes a U-shaped bend, in the center of which, on the west bank, was a steamboat landing known as Pittsburg. Lying under a high bluff, the Landing provided a good place for the disembarking of troops and supplies. From the Landing, one road ran southwesterly toward Corinth. On both sides of this road Grant and his generals had scattered their troops in camps between two small streams that emptied into the river above and below Pittsburg — Snake Creek two miles below, Lick Creek two miles above. From Snake Creek, perhaps a mile from the Tennessee, a branch known as Owl Creek flowed toward Lick Creek, pinching the campground into a triangle with a narrow opening of two to three miles wide about four miles from the Landing. Roads and swamps crisscrossed the campgrounds, while here and there were clearings and a few farmhouses. The rest of the land was rolling and wooded more or less heavily. Two main roads crossed the Corinth road at right angles: the Hamburg to Savannah road, less than a mile from the Landing; the Hamburg and Purdy road about two miles out. Near this latter road, in the center of this four-mile-square camp and on the top of a ridge was an old abandoned road, sunken from many years of use. Farther to the west, in the "front line" of the troops and near Sherman's headquarters, stood a small frame meeting house called Shiloh Church. The sunken road would save the Union Army on Sunday; the little church would give its name to the battle fought there, a battle called by Sherman's biographer, "Shiloh, Bloody Shiloh."<sup>15</sup>

Sherman's division had arrived at Pittsburg on March 16 and had moved out about 2½ miles from the Landing and gone into camp on high ground behind a creek known as Shiloh Branch. Setting up his headquarters near Shiloh Church, Sherman had assigned his brigades to position. Farthest to

<sup>14</sup> *Official Records*, 94; Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:334-5.

<sup>15</sup> Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), 219. For description of the field of Shiloh, see Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 9, and map between pp. 12-13; Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 48-50.

the right of this line, near the Purdy road crossing of Owl Creek, lay the the first brigade under command of Colonel J. A. McDowell of Keokuk, consisting of McDowell's own regiment, the 6th Iowa, plus the 46th Ohio, the 40th Illinois, and the 6th Indiana Battery . All the men of his division, wrote Sherman later, were "perfectly new." "None of them had ever been under fire or beheld heavy columns of an enemy bearing down on them as they did on last Sunday."<sup>16</sup> This certainly applied to the 6th Iowa. Mustered into the army on July 17, 1861, the regiment had spent the intervening months in camps and in marches in Missouri.<sup>17</sup> They had been encamped on Shiloh Branch now for almost three weeks, and they were bored.

While Sherman held the right of the line, he sent one brigade under Colonel David Stuart far to the left on Lick Creek with three regiments, two from Ohio and one from Illinois. This small force thus happened to be stationed at the spot that the Confederate generals planned to turn, in striking the Union army. But, fortunately for Stuart and for the Union men, it became necessary for the Confederates to push back Sherman on the right and Prentiss in the center before they could get to Stuart.

Between Sherman and Stuart lay the Sixth Division, commanded by Brigadier General Benjamin M. Prentiss. There were no Iowa regiments with Prentiss on the morning of April 6, although the 16th Iowa, still at the Landing that morning, had been assigned to his second brigade. Having only arrived on Friday, the 16th had worked all day Saturday making a road up the bluff by which they could transport their wagons and mules to their assigned camp — a camp they never reached.<sup>18</sup>

Just back of Sherman's position lay the First Division under Major General John A. McClernand. His first brigade, commanded by Colonel Abraham M. Hare of Muscatine, contained the 11th and 13th Iowa regiments, the 11th under command of Colonel William Hall of Davenport, the 13th under Colonel Marcellus M. Crocker of Des Moines. Neither Iowa regiment had seen service, but they were fortunate in being commanded by men who had had some military training.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sherman, *Official Records*, 252.

<sup>17</sup> Wright, *History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry*, 80.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Addison H. Sanders to his brother, April 7, 1862, published in *Des Moines Register*, Apr. 23, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 235-6, 237-42, 255-64.



Back of Prentiss, and near a peach orchard, lay the Fourth Division under Brigadier General S. A. Hurlbut. His only Iowa regiment was the 3rd, whose experiences in Missouri and at the battle of Blue Mills had made it almost a veteran regiment in this army of untried soldiers. Its first colonel, Nelson G. Williams of Dubuque, now commanded the brigade, and Major William M. Stone (one day to be Governor of Iowa) had taken command of the 3rd in the absence of the lieutenant colonel, John Scott, who was ill.<sup>20</sup>

Nearest the Landing were the troops of the Second Division under Brigadier General W. H. L. Wallace. Five Iowa regiments were here — the 8th, with no battle record; the 2nd, 12th, and 14th, who had fought at Donelson; and the 7th that had been in the battles of Belmont and Donelson. The first brigade was an all-Iowa one commanded by Colonel James M. Tuttle of the 2nd Iowa, who would, within a few months, become a brigadier general.<sup>21</sup> The 2nd still basked in the glory of having led the troops as they entered Fort Donelson after its capture. The 7th was led by Lieutenant Colonel James C. Parrott, formerly of the United States Dragoons; the 12th's colonel, Joseph J. Woods, was a West Pointer; the colonel of the 14th, William T. Shaw, had fought in the Mexican War.<sup>22</sup> Thus the Iowa regiments in Wallace's division were among the best led and most experienced of the state's regiments at Shiloh.

In contrast, the 15th and 16th Iowa, at the Landing on the morning of April 6, were the least experienced Iowa regiments on the field. Both had been mustered into the army during February and March of 1862. After a few weeks of camp drill in Iowa and St. Louis, the two regiments were sent to Pittsburg Landing. At St. Louis, a few days before embarking on steamboats for the Tennessee River, the men had received their arms — Springfield rifles — and their ammunition.<sup>23</sup> However, they had not had time to learn how to fire these weapons. The colonel of the 15th, Hugh T. Reid of Keokuk, had no previous military experience, but the 16th's colonel,

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-96; *Roster and Record*, 1:287.

<sup>21</sup> Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 51-8, 59-64.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 163-70, 171-8, 243-54, 271-80; *Roster and Record*, 1:915, 921, 1014; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:208-209.

<sup>23</sup> Mildred Throne (ed.), *The Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, 1861-1863* (Iowa City, 1953), 24. This diary was also published in the four issues of the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, Vol. 50, 1952.

Alexander Chambers, had been a member of the 18th United States Infantry.<sup>24</sup>

Such was the position of the troops of the Army of the Tennessee on April 6. While in camp they had busied themselves with camp duties, drilling, reviews, and patrols. For the past few days there had been several clashes with Confederate cavalry, and some prisoners had been taken on both sides, but no real warning had come to Grant's officers that the whole Confederate army had left Corinth and was marching toward Pittsburg Landing. Halleck had instructed Grant not to bring on an engagement at Pittsburg; therefore these brushes with the Confederate skirmishers had not been followed up. "The enemy is saucy," Sherman wrote Grant on April 5. "I will not be drawn out far unless with certainty of advantage, and I do not apprehend anything like an attack on our position."<sup>25</sup>

Even as Sherman wrote these words, the Confederate army was within two miles of his camp. Johnston had moved his troops, numbering some 40,000, out of Corinth on April 3, planning to concentrate on the Union position and to attack on Saturday morning, April 5. But the roads were miry from days of rain, the men were not used to marching, and the troops were not in position to launch an attack until Sunday morning. This delay may have been fatal to the Southern troops. Had they been able to attack on Saturday morning, with Buell still two days away, Grant's army could have been wiped out. But weather and the problem of marching inexperienced troops over bad roads had worked against Johnston and Beauregard, although the element of surprise was still in their favor on Sunday morning. Their troops, knowing they were going into battle, were psychologically better prepared than Grant's men, blissfully unaware of the approaching conflict.<sup>26</sup>

The Confederate plan of attack was to bring in the divisions, one behind the other, along the Corinth road, and then to spread out and hit the four-mile-long Union front, concentrating on the left and turning it, thus cutting Grant off from his supplies and transportation at the Landing and forcing him back onto Owl Creek. First, Hardee's Third Corps was to

<sup>24</sup> Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 281-8, 303-312.

<sup>25</sup> Halleck to Grant, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part II, 41; Sherman to Grant, *ibid.*, 94.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:390-93; Stanley Horn, *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* (Indianapolis, 1941), 124. Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 110, gives the total of the Confederate Army of the Mississippi at Shiloh as 43,968.

form the center, once the troops were deployed. Behind Hardee some 800 yards was Bragg's Second Corps, to deploy as the right wing; next came Polk's First Corps, to form the left; and behind Polk lay Breckinridge's corps, making up the reserve.<sup>27</sup> While Hardee and Polk were to strike Sherman and McClernand on the right, Bragg was to swing around to the center and left of the Union line, overrun Prentiss' divisions and Stuart's lone brigade, and then push to the Landing. Had the attack been as complete a surprise as Northern newspapers reported it to be, this might well have happened. However, the plans went awry; Johnston and Beauregard had reckoned without a stubborn Prentiss, a sunken road, and Confederate stupidity in not bypassing that pocket of resistance known as the "Hornet's Nest." Furthermore, Sherman's right gave way faster than did Prentiss' left, thus throwing the Confederate plan off schedule.

Even before dawn on that Sunday morning, one of Grant's officers was worried. The frequent skirmishes with Confederate pickets and cavalry during the last several days had disturbed him, although even General Sherman seemed to dismiss these actions lightly. The worried officer was Colonel Everett Peabody of Prentiss' first brigade. At 3 A. M. on April 6, Peabody had sent Major James E. Powell on a reconnaissance out on the Corinth road with three companies of the 25th Missouri. Just at dawn Powell met some cavalry pickets, who turned and galloped rapidly away. Following them, Powell met a battalion of Confederate troops under Major A. B. Hardcastle. Behind Hardcastle lay the entire Confederate army — the army that was supposed to be holed up in Corinth twenty miles away.<sup>28</sup>

"We fought the enemy an hour or more without giving an inch," reported Hardcastle. Colonel David Moore of Prentiss' command came to Powell's support with the 21st Missouri and four companies of the 16th Wisconsin. At about 6:30 Hardcastle, seeing Hardee's corps forming in his rear, fell back to that line, which then began to move forward. Word had meanwhile gone back to Prentiss and to Sherman, and in the Union front lines the ominous long roll from the drummers echoed from camp to camp. While Powell and Moore retreated slowly, their whole brigade moved up to join them, and together they held the Confederates in check

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:348; Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 12, and map between pp. 12-13. Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 123-4.

<sup>28</sup> Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 52-5; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:357-9; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 128; Hardcastle, *Official Records*, 603.

until almost 7 o'clock. Prentiss had by then moved his division out in front of his camp about a quarter mile, ready to meet the assault.<sup>29</sup>

In the camps of the other Union divisions, soldiers were busy breakfasting and preparing for the inevitable Sunday review when the first sounds of heavy firing came from the front. Picket firing, they said, and went on with their usual routine, while birds sang lustily in the blossoming peach orchards that dotted the area. Unnoticed by the men, messengers came hurrying back from the front, to Hurlbut, to McClernand, and to Wallace. Next came the long roll from the drummers, and everywhere men sprang to their arms and hurried into line.

By 7 A. M. Sherman's division was in position, and the general and his staff rode down the lines and out in front to see what was going on. Confederate pickets from ambush fired on them, killing Sherman's orderly, Thomas D. Holliday. But, according to Sherman, an hour passed before he saw the "glistening bayonets" of large masses of Southern troops on his left front. Not until then was he "satisfied for the first time that the enemy designed a determined attack on our whole camp."<sup>30</sup>

The only Iowa regiment in the front line, when the first assault came, was the 6th Iowa, stationed far to the right of Sherman's division. Their brigade had been up and in line of battle before daylight, after which the men had stacked arms and breakfasted. At about 7 o'clock they heard the first enemy cannon shot, which was replied to promptly by Union batteries. Then, until almost 10 o'clock, the 6th Iowa remained on the edge of battle, hearing the rising roar of musketry and cannon, but not themselves under fire.<sup>31</sup>

The first blow that struck Sherman's left came at about 8 o'clock. The general of the Confederate second brigade, P. R. Cleburne, reported that he first saw the Union army in "line of battle" behind their first encampment. So much for the wild stories soon to be circulated in the North that some of Sherman's men were taken in their beds, and that the rest fled from the front at the first shots. Forced to cross an open field and an "impassable morass" before he could strike Sherman on "the height on which the enemy's tents stood," Cleburne suffered a "quick and bloody repulse." Hardee's whole Third Corps contained only some 7,600 men, of which

<sup>29</sup> Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 13; Hardcastle, *Official Records*, 603; Moore, *ibid.*, 282.

<sup>30</sup> Sherman, *Official Records*, 248-9.

<sup>31</sup> Wright, *History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry*, 76-8.



about 2,800 were in Cleburne's brigade,<sup>32</sup> yet an Iowa newspaper later published a letter from the sutler of the 6th Iowa, whose position at the rear could alone make his account suspect, reporting that 20,000 troops entered Sherman's camp at 8 o'clock in the morning, throwing the men into a panic. This, according to the editor, showed "the stupidity and criminal carelessness of our commanding officers."<sup>33</sup> It would be many years before the men and officers in the front line at Shiloh could disprove such stories. Not until the 1880's could the real story of the battle of Shiloh be written.

While the 6th Iowa watched and listened to the roar of battle to their left, two more Iowa regiments appeared on the front line, the 11th and 13th, with McClernand's first brigade, sent forward on the run to fill in the gap between Sherman's left and Prentiss' right. The 11th took position in reserve in support of Dresser's battery at the crossing of the Corinth and the Purdy roads, while the 13th and two Illinois regiments went farther to the left and almost at once came under fire.<sup>34</sup> This brigade, commanded by Colonel Abraham M. Hare, liked to believe that they "held their position longer, made more bayonet charges, and disputed the ground more bulldog-ishly than any other regiment on the field."<sup>35</sup> When the Iowans came into line, the Confederate attack was in full swing, with Sherman's left giving way and with Prentiss' division (a small one of only two brigades) in trouble and retreating slowly. Their first experience under fire unnerved the men of the Iowa regiments, and they retreated in confusion. As the battle wore on, however, these retreats became more orderly. They would hold a position as long as possible, then retire to a new point of defense. Their muskets became begrimed and their faces blackened with cartridge powder; ramrods, necessary for firing their guns, were lost. One member of the 11th, after losing his ramrod, picked up a Belgian rifle lying beside a dead "rebel," helped himself to the dead man's cartridge case, and rejoined his regiment. While lying in wait for the next attack, he watched

<sup>32</sup> Cleburne, *Official Records*, 581; Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 107.

<sup>33</sup> Letters of L. M. Blakeley, Apr. 6, 9, 1862, published in Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 19, 1862.

<sup>34</sup> Hare, *Official Records*, 123-4; Crocker, *ibid.*, 125-6, 131-2; Hall, *ibid.*, 130-31; McClernand, *ibid.*, 114-22; Mildred Throne (ed.), "A History of Company D, Eleventh Iowa Infantry, 1861-1865," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 55:43 (January, 1957).

<sup>35</sup> Letter from member of 11th Iowa, written Apr. 28, 1862, and published in *Iowa City Republican*, May 14, 1862.

the "thickly-flying musket balls" of the enemy passing over him like "hail."<sup>36</sup>

And it was not all retreat. Several countercharges were made by McClelland's troops, often with great loss, but also with a growing self-confidence. At one point Colonel Hall of the 11th Iowa, having had his horse shot from under him, led a bayonet charge on foot, waving his hat on the point of his sword. In this attack the 11th captured an enemy flag and a battery and retook McClelland's headquarters. Fighting thus, through the long hours, with their comrades falling about them and the enemy dead piling up in front of them, they made a final retreat only when their ammunition gave out and they had to return to the Landing for fresh supplies.<sup>37</sup>

Hurlbut's Fourth Division, in reserve behind Prentiss, received a message from Sherman at 7:30, and Hurlbut sent one brigade to the support of Sherman's left. A few moments later he received a "pressing request" from Prentiss, who was being pushed back. Taking command himself, Hurlbut led his first and third brigades forward in support of the faltering Sixth Division. Hurlbut's first brigade was commanded by Colonel Nelson G. Williams of the 3rd Iowa, the third brigade by another Iowan, Brigadier General J. G. Lauman. Taking position between Prentiss' left and the right of Stuart's brigade, on the edge of a peach orchard, Hurlbut set up his line at an angle and placed three batteries in support.<sup>38</sup> As his men went forward to the battle they met hordes of frightened stragglers rushing to the rear, men who had given way at the first assault. Officers struggled to rally these men, but without avail. "They fled through the woods in panic, like sheep pursued by wolves," wrote one member of the 3rd Iowa. Disregarding these terrified soldiers, Hurlbut's men filed into position in "splendid order." Their first sight of the enemy was of a regiment "with their red banners flashing in the morning sun marching proudly and all undisturbed through the abandoned camps of Prentiss." The first shots from the Confederate batteries disabled one of Hurlbut's batteries and sent its officers and men flying to the rear, "with a common impulse of disgraceful cow-

<sup>36</sup> Olynthus B. Clark (ed.), *Downing's Civil War Diary by Sergeant Alexander G. Downing, Company E, Eleventh Iowa Infantry* (Des Moines, 1916), 41.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 41; letter from 11th Iowa, Apr. 28, 1862, published in *Iowa City Republican*, May 14, 1862; letter from "H. M. W.," 11th Iowa, Apr. 16, 1862, published in *Muscatine Journal*, May 2, 1862.

<sup>38</sup> Hurlbut, *Official Records*, 203.

ardice." Volunteers quickly rushed forward to man the abandoned guns, and the first attack of the enemy was thrown back. In a few moments Colonel Williams was injured when his horse fell upon him, and the command went to Major William M. Stone, who rallied his 3rd Iowa for the next assault, ordering the men to "lay low — don't fire a gun, until you can see the whites of their eyes — then rise and give 'em hell!" The regiment, on a slight rise of ground, had an advantageous position and fought off many desperate assaults. "The earth trembled as we fired volley after volley . . . into the rebel ranks, which mowed them down like grass before the scythe."<sup>39</sup>

In one assault, even the Union troops were forced to admire the bravery of the Confederates as they formed in solid lines across an open field. As the Union guns, shotted with canister, tore great holes in the advancing Confederate line, the gray-clad troops closed up and came on without faltering. The Union line held its fire until the last moment, then burst into flame as men loaded and fired at close range. When the clouds of smoke that obscured the enemy cleared away, the remnant of the attacking force could be seen retiring in good order, leaving their dead and wounded lying "so thickly upon the field where his charge was first checked, that they looked like a line of troops lying down to receive our fire." In fact, some Union troops began firing at the dead and dying Confederates, thinking them a regiment ready to attack.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, Prentiss, whose troops had been "pulverized" by the first attack, had retreated after rallying as many of his men as possible, first from his forward position to his line of tents and then into his third — and last — position. At the top of a ridge he stumbled on the old abandoned road protected by dense woods and underbrush. From this natural trench his troops could fire upon the enemy but could themselves remain almost untouched by his assaults. Prentiss had found the "Hornet's Nest."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa*, 212-14; letter of William Swan of Co. G, 3rd Iowa, n. d., published in *Des Moines Register*, June 11, 1862; Hurlbut, *Official Records*, 203.

<sup>40</sup> Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa*, 213, 219-20.

<sup>41</sup> Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 131-2; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:368-9; M. F. Force, *From Fort Henry to Corinth* (New York, 1898), 142-4. Prentiss, in his report, written after his release from a Confederate prison, set the time of reaching the sunken road at 9:05 A. M. *Official Records*, 278. Col. Francis Quinn, 12th Michigan, *ibid.*, 281, also gives the time as 9 o'clock. Others give the time as between 9 and 11 A. M. E. B. Soper, "History of Co. D, 12th Regt., Iowa" (type-

There were no Iowans with Prentiss on the morning of April 6, but by the time he had retreated to the sunken road, five Iowa regiments from W. H. L. Wallace's Second Division had come up to reinforce him: the 2nd, 7th, 12th, and 14th of the first brigade under Colonel James M. Tuttle; the 8th in the third brigade under Colonel T. W. Sweeny. These regiments had been encamped farthest from the point of attack. Ordered into line at about 8 o'clock, they had advanced through ever increasing hordes of stragglers and wounded, arriving near the sunken road at about the time, probably, that Prentiss succeeded in establishing his line there.<sup>42</sup> As the men of Wallace's division marched forward, the stragglers shouted to them, "For God's sake, don't go out there. You will be killed. Come back! come back!" The 2nd Iowa men, proud of their Donelson record and considering themselves veterans, ignored the pleas. Lieutenant John T. Bell of Company C later described the scene as they pushed forward:

The roads are full of ambulances and heavy six-mule wagons loaded with wounded being taken to the temporary hospitals. Their cries of pain as the teams are rushed along are distressing; the woods swarm with blue coats; batteries are hurried here and there with horses on the gallop; the terrible din of musketry is directly in our front; shells shriek and burst over our heads; the air is thick and heavy with the smell of burned powder, and we are in the midst of what proves to be one of the memorable battles of the great war.<sup>43</sup>

The Wallace brigades, filling the gap between McClernand and Prentiss, had found "the only fixed point of the Union line," and in this fixed point the five Iowa regiments took position, from right to left: the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 14th, and 8th.<sup>44</sup>

script vol., property of Harland Soper of Emmetsburg, Iowa, on loan to State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City); *First Reunion of Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade* . . . 1887 (Oskaloosa, 1888), 12, 17; *Ninth Reunion, Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade* (Des Moines, [1912]), 18; John K. Mahon (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon, Seventh Iowa Infantry," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:238 (July, 1953); letter from member of 2nd Iowa, Apr. 16, 1862, published in Keokuk *Gate City*, Apr. 30, 1862. Since some of these accounts were written long after the event, and since the accuracy of the time of the various movements at Shiloh is uncertain, the exact time of occupying the Hornet's Nest is not provable.

<sup>42</sup> Tuttle, *Official Records*, 148-50; Woods, *ibid.*, 151-2; Geddes, *ibid.*, 165-7; Parrott, *ibid.*, 150-51; Shaw, *ibid.*, 152-4.

<sup>43</sup> John T. Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa Infantry* . . . (Omaha, 1886), 8.

<sup>44</sup> Mahon (ed.), "Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon," 238.



By 10 o'clock the Union line had at last assumed some sort of stability, with all the troops in line of battle. But the men did not realize this. Because of the wooded and rolling terrain of the battlefield, the fight seemed to them a series of personal encounters. None of the men and few of the officers knew what was going on in distant parts of the field. Only the rising and falling clash of battle indicated whether their comrades were standing firm or falling back. A member of the 2nd Iowa wrote, ten days after the battle: "We fought on our own hook. 'What was the plan of battle, General?' asked Gen. Buell of Acting Brig. Gen. Tuttle. 'By God, sir, I don't know!' he replied."<sup>45</sup> Few of the men saw Grant as he rode from division to division, trying to bring order and defense out of the chaos.

Grant had been at breakfast in his headquarters at Savannah when he first heard heavy firing from the direction of Pittsburg Landing. Writing a hurried note to Buell (not having been advised that Buell had arrived in Savannah the night before), and another to Brigadier General William Nelson, who had arrived with Buell's Fourth Division on Saturday, Grant set off on the *Tigress*, his headquarters boat, for Pittsburg. He stopped for a moment at Crump's Landing, half way between Savannah and Pittsburg, where General Lew Wallace awaited him. Not sure yet whether the attack was aimed at Pittsburg or at Purdy, Grant ordered Wallace to have his men ready to march as soon as he received orders. On arriving at Pittsburg and surveying the scene and hearing the reports of W. H. L. Wallace and Major General James B. McPherson, the "only professional soldier on Grant's staff," Grant promptly ordered one of his aides, Captain A. S. Baxter, to return to Crump's Landing and tell Lew Wallace to proceed to Pittsburg "by the road nearest the river." Baxter asked Lieutenant Colonel John A. Rawlins (Grant's adjutant and one day to be his Secretary of War) for a written order. Rawlins scribbled a note to Wallace, and Baxter set out on the *Tigress*. Wallace received the order, which his adjutant promptly lost, thus leading to future recriminations, accusations, and justifications of his ensuing action. Instead of taking the "road nearest the river," Wallace began to move his division out toward the right of Sherman's original position, which by that time was in Confederate hands.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Letter of "H. S.," 2nd Iowa, Apr. 16, 1862, published in Keokuk *Gate City*, Apr. 30, 1862.

<sup>46</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:335-6; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:362; Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 91-4; Rawlins to Grant, *Official Records*, 183-8.

Grant had now ordered Lew Wallace's division forward, had left orders for Nelson to move his brigade toward Pittsburg, had sent word to Buell. According to Rawlins, Grant had reached the Landing at about 8 o'clock. At this time, some four miles away, Prentiss was being driven back and Sherman was just coming under fire. At the Landing, Grant saw the beginning of the flight from the front, and he found the 15th Iowa disembarking from their boat and the 16th Iowa preparing to move forward to join Prentiss. Approaching Colonel Hugh T. Reid of the 15th Iowa, Grant directed him — "after the men have had their coffee and received their ammunition" — to move his regiment to the top of the bluff and stop all stragglers. Colonel Reid, as inexperienced in battle as were his men, must have shown his wonderment at thus being ordered around by a strange officer. "I am General Grant," said the officer as he rode away.<sup>47</sup>

Next Grant ordered the 16th Iowa to join the 15th on the bluff, and there to await further orders. He then rode forward to find three of his five divisions already engaged and Hurlbut's and W. H. L. Wallace's divisions preparing to move out. Thus, even before the commanding general had reached the field, Sherman, as second in command, had organized a defense on a line from Owl to Lick Creek.<sup>48</sup>

While Grant rode from point to point on the field, checking with his commanders, the 15th and 16th Iowa regiments at the Landing received new orders. They were to advance to support McClelland. Having found the job of stopping the stragglers impossible, the troops were glad to move forward, pushing aside the frightened soldiers as they went. "Most of them had the Bull Run Story," reported Colonel Reid. "Don't go out there," they cried as they rushed past the two regiments. "You'll catch hell." "We are all cut to pieces." "We are whipped." The green Iowa soldiers, surprisingly, were unmoved by these hysterical pleas, and they went into battle at a run, carrying guns they had never even fired.<sup>49</sup>

In the confusion, the two regiments were led too far forward into an open field, where they suffered heavy losses before being pulled back to the shelter of McClelland's line. In those hours, when the men of the 15th

<sup>47</sup> Rawlins, *Official Records*, 185; *History of the Fifteenth Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry* . . . (Keokuk, 1887), 106, 189.

<sup>48</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:338-9.

<sup>49</sup> Reid, *Official Records*, 288; Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 29.

and 16th first saw the "gray coats" and heard the "unearthly" rebel yell, when they saw their comrades and officers falling on all sides, hysteria gripped them. Retreating in confusion, with all semblance of company or regimental organization gone, they reassembled under their few remaining officers under the shelter of a battery.<sup>50</sup> Colonel Chambers of the 16th and Colonel Reid of the 15th were both wounded in the first action; Major William Worth Belknap of the 15th, although wounded himself, helped to rally the men several times and proved a tower of strength. The 15th had great admiration for Belknap, in contrast to their low opinion of the rest of their officers. "All the men like him," Cyrus Boyd wrote of Belknap, "and he knows more about tactics and drilling than all the bal[ance] of the field officers will ever know in their lives."<sup>51</sup>

During one of these retreats General Grant first met the young major who was one day to be his Secretary of War. At one time Belknap had succeeded in rallying some 200 men of the 15th and 16th just as Grant rode by. The general stopped and asked what they were doing and if they could be depended on. Assured that they certainly could, Grant ordered them to a new position, but before riding away he asked Belknap his name. When the major had told him, Grant asked if he were any relation to "Colonel Belknap of the old Army," with whom Grant had served in Mexico. On being told that the major was the colonel's son, Grant leaned down to shake hands with the young man.<sup>52</sup>

As the 15th fell back, the scene was one of complete confusion. Officers rode in all directions, trying to rally the frightened men, while "bullets seemed to fill the air and to be clipping every little weed and bush and blade of grass around us."

Riderless horses came thundering through the woods with empty saddles and artillery horses with caissons [sic] attached ran through

<sup>50</sup> Chambers, *Official Records*, 287; Reid, *ibid.*, 289; letter of W. H. Gibbon, surgeon of the 15th Iowa, in *History of the Fifteenth Iowa*, 107-108; letter of A. G. Studer, lieutenant of Co. B, 15th Iowa, written May 15, 1862, and published in *Des Moines Register*, June 14, 1862; letter of Addison H. Sanders of the 16th Iowa, Apr. 7, 1862, and published in *ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1862. For these and other letters written about Shiloh, see Mildred Throne (ed.), "Letters from Shiloh," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:235-80 (July, 1954).

<sup>51</sup> Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 54.

<sup>52</sup> This story told by W. H. Goodrell of the 15th Iowa in the *History of the Fifteenth Iowa*, 189-90. The publication of this volume was supervised by William W. Belknap.

the squads of men and striking trees caused the percussion shells to explode blowing horses caissons and everything around to atoms. Cannon balls were flying in all directions cutting off great limbs of trees and many men were killed and injured in this way as the heavy limbs fell on them.<sup>53</sup>

Dr. W. H. Gibbon, the surgeon of the 15th, had followed the regiment to the front and had set up a makeshift hospital in a ravine behind the first line. Here he treated the wounded as they drifted back from the front, administering stimulants, removing bullets, and sending the amputation cases back to the Landing. The adjutant of the 15th, George Pomutz, was brought in badly wounded. While the roar of battle grew louder, Dr. Gibbon treated Pomutz and told him to lie down and be quiet. Suddenly the little group in the ravine realized that the Confederate line had formed only a hundred yards away. As the first volley from the enemy whistled over the ravine, Pomutz raised himself on his elbow and commented bitterly that this was "a hell of a place for a hospital." The doctor managed somehow to get his wounded out of the trap and then made a run for it across an open field, "through a veritable leaden hail." Stopping for a while on the far side of the field, he helped another doctor man a battery of guns. Finally, when forced back from that position, Dr. Gibbon retreated to the Landing and there "took up the amputating knife."<sup>54</sup>

For the first hour or two of the battle, while the center and left were slowly retreating before the violent assaults of the Confederate troops, the 6th Iowa on Sherman's far right could only wait and watch as the battle swayed back and forth to their left. Hardly an "Alpine avalanche," as Beauregard described the Confederate attack, but more like a great and unwieldy steamroller, Johnston's men gradually pushed the Union army back. By 9 A. M. some of the regiments on Sherman's left began to crumble, and by 10 o'clock his left was turned and his right, which had held firm against attack, was ordered to withdraw to avoid being flanked.<sup>55</sup> Only in this retreat did the 6th Iowa come under fire, and then they suffered the greatest loss of any Iowa regiment.

Two companies of the 6th, D and K, stayed at the bridge over Owl Creek. Not until 11:30 did McDowell send an aide to them with an order

<sup>53</sup> Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 32-3.

<sup>54</sup> Letter of W. H. Gibbon in *History of the Fifteenth Iowa*, 108-111.

<sup>55</sup> Beauregard, *Official Records*, 386; Sherman, *ibid.*, 249-50; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:265.



to rejoin their regiment. The aide had to carry the order on foot down the Purdy road "then gay with peach blossoms and the perfume of wild flowers . . . mingled with rather lively notes of whistling bullets and screeching shells." His arrival was greeted by the handful of men, alone at the edge of battle, with great relief, and they made a successful dash to the left to join their regiment.<sup>56</sup>

As McDowell's brigade moved to support McClernand, who was under "furious attack," they came into the thick of the battle. For three hours they held their position, until almost half the men of the 6th Iowa were killed or disabled. McDowell was thrown from his horse and, being a "large man and somewhat corpulent," was "seriously shocked" and had to leave the field. Since the lieutenant colonel of the 6th Iowa had been placed under arrest earlier, the regiment came under command of several of the captains, most of whom were killed or wounded before Sherman ordered a retreat.<sup>57</sup>

Sherman's and McClernand's retreats had left their right on Owl Creek exposed, and the Confederate troops began to close in, pushing the Union divisions back, not on Owl Creek as Beauregard had planned, but toward Pittsburg Landing, where they could be supplied, reinforced, and supported by the two gunboats in the river. While Sherman and McClernand retreated gradually toward the Landing, the Union left, which the Confederates had expected to turn first, still held. By 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Union line was shorter but intact.

Albert Sidney Johnston was then with his troops on their right, urging them on to attack Stuart and Prentiss on the Union left. Beauregard was at Shiloh Church, commanding the reserves, or what few reserves the Confederates could have had left by that time. When Sherman and McClernand retreated toward the Landing, the Confederate commanders followed, and then turned to push across against the Union center and left. Was Sherman's direction of retreat deliberate or accidental? Grant had visited his line twice during the day, once at about 10 in the morning and again in the afternoon. On the first visit Grant had told Sherman that Lew Wallace was expected on his right, crossing Snake Creek on the Hamburg and Savannah road, the one "nearest the river." By 4 o'clock Sherman knew that Hurlbut was retreating on the far left and being driven back to the

<sup>56</sup> Wright, *History of the Sixth Iowa*, 80-81.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-4.

river. Therefore, to keep his line from breaking, "and knowing that General Wallace was coming from Crump's Landing with re-enforcements," Sherman consulted with McClelland and they "selected a new line of defense, with its right covering the bridge by which General Wallace had to approach."<sup>58</sup> Beauregard's plan of battle was thus upset by Sherman's retreat from Owl Creek and by Hurlbut's stubborn stand at the peach orchard. One other Union general would complete the destruction of the Confederate strategy — Benjamin M. Prentiss in the "Hornet's Nest."

Grant had inspected Prentiss' position in the morning, shortly after the line was organized along the sunken road, with Wallace on the right and Hurlbut on the left, and had approved it, ordering the generals to hold their positions "at all hazards."<sup>59</sup> On the left, Hurlbut and Stuart withstood repeated Confederate attacks, and Albert Sidney Johnston himself rode over to spur on his men in this sector. His troops were tired and seemed reluctant; urging them on, waving a tin cup he had picked up in some Union camp as his "share of the spoils," Johnston led the charge on the peach orchard which began the disintegration of Hurlbut's line. This advantage was costly to the Confederates, however, for Johnston was hit in the leg by a stray bullet while riding away from the front. An artery had been severed; had his physician been with him, this comparatively minor injury might not have proved fatal. At 2:30, the Confederate commander was dead, and command shifted to Beauregard.<sup>60</sup>

At 3 o'clock Colonel Stuart sent word to Hurlbut that he was "driven in," and that unless Hurlbut drew back he would be flanked. Hurlbut in turn sent word to Prentiss that he was retiring. Two "20-pounder pieces" covered the withdrawal, the guns manned by a surgeon and a lieutenant, such was the confused and depleted command situation. Even as Hurlbut withdrew, his third brigade made one last charge on a pursuing Texas regiment, throwing it back some 400 yards. Escaping from the closing Confederate ranks, Hurlbut managed to reach the Landing with his division.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Sherman, *Official Records*, 250.

<sup>59</sup> Prentiss, *ibid.*, 278.

<sup>60</sup> Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 132-3; Beauregard, *Official Records*, 387; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:371; Joseph W. Rich, "The Death of General Albert Sidney Johnston on the Battlefield of Shiloh," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 16:278-81 (April, 1918); *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 1:564-5.

<sup>61</sup> Hurlbut, *Official Records*, 204; Stuart, *ibid.*, 259.

The 3rd Iowa suffered terribly in this retreat. Major William M. Stone was captured, the Confederate ranks closing around him just as he saw his regiment safely out of the trap. Nine of the ten captains in the regiment were wounded, three of them being captured, while the captain of Company B was killed. In fact, so depleted were the officers of the 3rd Iowa that the regiment went into battle on Monday under command of a first lieutenant, George W. Crosley of Company E.<sup>62</sup>

One member of the 3rd Iowa described this last retreat of the regiment: "Above us the hissing and screaming of missiles; around us the roar of battle rising louder and louder; assailed in front and flank; the enemy to the left crowding our fugitive troops and pressing furiously on our rear; the troops to our right swept back." Passing through his own camp, Stone tried to make a last stand, to hold off the enemy. From this position, for a moment, the men of the 3rd saw the whole battle around them. "To our right and rear as far as the eye could reach, through the woods and over the fields — at least a mile — our line of battle in full retreat, — infantry, artillery, wagons, ambulances, all rushing to the rear — a scene of confusion and dismay — an army degenerating into a rout."<sup>63</sup> Running the gauntlet of Confederate regiments on their right and left, the 3rd escaped, leaving their major and several officers in enemy hands.

Prentiss had told Major Stone that he wanted "to hold the enemy in check, if possible, till the army could again form in the rear, or till night should put an end to the battle."<sup>64</sup> The regiments under Prentiss, still clinging to their position in the sunken road, knew only that they were holding out; Prentiss and the Confederates who threw attack after attack against him alone realized the importance of what he was doing.

With Hurlbut gone, Prentiss' left was exposed. The same thing now happened on his right. Here W. H. L. Wallace's troops were giving way. Of his five Iowa regiments, only two managed to escape the encircling Confederates. Tuttle, on Wallace's orders, withdrew the 2nd and 7th, but when he turned to go back and lead the 12th and 14th out, it was too late. The gap had closed, trapping Prentiss, the 8th, 12th, and 14th Iowa, and the 58th Illinois. Throughout the day, Prentiss' own small division had disintegrated; the men who surrendered with him were all from Wallace's

<sup>62</sup> *Roster and Record*, 1:288, 294-399 *passim*.

<sup>63</sup> Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa*, 223-4, 226.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 227-8.



command. In this retreat, General W. H. L. Wallace fell, mortally wounded, the highest ranking Union officer to die at Shiloh.<sup>65</sup>

It was now after 4 o'clock, and Grant's troops had been pushed back almost to the Landing — all except the stubborn handful now trapped in the sunken road with Prentiss. Years later the son of Albert Sidney Johnston wrote of the "Hornet's Nest."

Here, behind a dense thicket on the crest of a hill, was posted a strong force of as hardy troops as ever fought, almost perfectly protected by the conformation of the ground, and by logs and other rude and hastily prepared defenses. To assail it an open field had to be passed, enfiladed by the fire of its batteries. No figure of speech would be too strong to express the deadly peril of assault upon this natural fortress.<sup>66</sup>

Hour after hour, since mid-morning, Confederate troops had been sent against the Union regiments in the sunken road. And hour after hour, they were sent reeling back, leaving the ground strewn thick with their dead and dying comrades. This was a "veritable Gibraltar," wrote one of the 7th Iowa men later. "It was against this rock that the enemy . . . hurled his brigades and regiments to their own destruction."<sup>67</sup>

Now Prentiss was alone with some 2,200 men, in the center of a closing ring of Confederates. But he still held out, determined to "harass [the enemy] and retard his progress so long as might be possible." In modern warfare, his almost impregnable position would have been bypassed, and the Confederate troops would have pursued and wiped out the rest of Grant's fleeing army before they had a chance to consolidate on the bluffs above the Landing.<sup>68</sup> Instead, they had thrown attack after attack at the line and finally brought almost all their artillery to bear on it, and in so doing had lost thousands of lives, uselessly.

At last, at about 5:30, realizing that, if he did not surrender, his men would all be killed, Prentiss yielded to the inevitable. First he tried to get his men out by withdrawing into a ravine, which the men later called

<sup>65</sup> Letter of Noah W. Mills, captain of Co. D, 2nd Iowa, to his brother, Apr. 9, 1862, published in *Des Moines Register*, Apr. 23, 1862; Tuttle, *Official Records*, 149; Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 67.

<sup>66</sup> *Battles and Leaders*, 1:563.

<sup>67</sup> William R. Akers, Sergeant, Co. G, 7th Iowa, in *Ninth Reunion, Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade*, 18.

<sup>68</sup> T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, La., 1954), 138; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:372.



"Hell's Hollow," but it was too late. Confederates were on all sides of them. Mounting a tree stump, Prentiss waved his handkerchief in surrender. His stubbornness had bought another hour and a half for Grant at the Landing. Prentiss had been in the thick of the fight since the first assault on his line at about 7:30 in the morning. The men under him, exhausted as they were, gave up reluctantly, some even trying to continue firing, others breaking up their guns or smashing them against trees.<sup>69</sup> They felt that their long defense of the line had failed; not for many years would they come to realize what they had done that day. But the Confederates knew. Prentiss and Wallace and Hurlbut, who had been in contact all day, also knew the importance of that sunken road. William Preston Johnston wrote, years later, of Prentiss, Wallace, and Hurlbut:

These generals have received scant justice for their stubborn defense. They agreed to hold their position at all odds, and did so until Wallace received his fatal wound and Prentiss was surrounded and captured with nearly 3,000 men. This delay was the salvation of Grant's army.<sup>70</sup>

Even after the surrender of the men of the "Hornet's Nest," the Confederates did not take advantage of the opening they had bought so dearly. A whole regiment was detailed to conduct the prisoners to the rear. Bragg's men were as exhausted and confused as were their prisoners. So another delay held up the Confederate assault, while Grant's aide, Colonel Joseph D. Webster, gathered up all the guns he could find and placed them in position on the heights above the Landing, and the Union generals began rounding up their divisions.<sup>71</sup>

While the Confederates reorganized and prepared for the last push, the disgruntled Union prisoners marched sullenly to the rear of Beauregard's scattered army. Not until twenty-five years later would these men understand what they had done. Then they would organize the Iowa Hornet's Nest Brigade, would hold reunions, and would glory in reliving this day in 1862.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Prentiss, *Official Records*, 279; Soper, "History of Co. D, 12th Iowa Regt.," Chap. V.

<sup>70</sup> *Battles and Leaders*, 1:566.

<sup>71</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:345-6; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 136; Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 72-3.

<sup>72</sup> For the experiences in Southern prisons of these men, see Mildred Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:67-88 (January,

With darkness close at hand, Grant's army stretched out from the Landing to the "road nearest the river" and along that road toward the crossing of Snake Creek, where Lew Wallace's division had at last put in a belated appearance. All day Grant had looked for Lew Wallace. Twice he had sent aides to find the wandering general. At about one o'clock Captain W. R. Rowley had finally located Wallace several miles out on the wrong road, his columns halted, and some of his staff dismounted. Explaining the situation, Rowley urged Wallace to turn around and take the road which would lead him to the rear of the Union army. Had Wallace continued on the road he was then taking, it would have brought him onto the field of Shiloh in the rear of the Confederates. Wallace finally agreed, asking Rowley to stay and guide him. Since Wallace had been camped at Crump's Landing since March 13, his lack of knowledge of the roads in the area, and of the location of the bridge over Snake Creek which his own men had built, seemed to Colonel Rawlins, when he and McPherson arrived to hurry up the laggard Third Division, inexcusable. Instead of reversing his line of march, Wallace had countermarched his whole division, thus adding to the delay. At 3:30 he was only 4 to 4½ miles from the battlefield, and he could plainly hear the rising roar of the conflict, yet it took him until dark to move his division onto the field in spite of all that McPherson and Rawlins, with some profanity on their part, could do to impress upon him the need for speed.<sup>73</sup> For years afterwards, arguments would rage on Wallace's actions on the first day of Shiloh.

But at last Lew Wallace was there. Backed by massed guns, and with two gunboats in the river, ready to shell the advancing Confederates, Grant's army waited. At the same time, the battered remnant of the once proud army saw across the river a most welcome sight — the Army of the Ohio had at last arrived. Why it took Nelson's division, at Savannah on the morning of April 6, so long to find the battlefield is another of the questions of Shiloh, and the source of future arguments. Possibly Buell did not relish the thought of placing himself under Grant's direction. He had

1956). The Iowa Hornet's Nest Brigade held its first reunion at Des Moines in October, 1887; its ninth, on the 50th anniversary of Shiloh, on the battlefield itself. *Ninth Reunion, Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade*.

<sup>73</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:336-8, 351-2n. See also Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:360-62; Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 91-103. For reports of various officers, see *Official Records*, 185-6 (Rawlins to Grant); 170, 174-6, 188-90 (Lew Wallace); 178-82 (Grant, Rowley, McPherson).

been on the field several times during the day, had talked to Grant and Sherman, and must have known the need for hurry. But he sent conflicting orders back to his approaching divisions, so that time was lost.<sup>74</sup> Sherman was even afraid that Buell might not even bring his army across the river at all. He had talked to Buell, after fighting had ceased for the day. Buell "seemed to mistrust us, and repeatedly said that he did not like the looks of things, especially about the boat-landing, and I really feared he would not cross over his army that night, lest he should become involved in our general disaster."<sup>75</sup> But Buell did cross his men that night, and in the morning led the attack on the left, while Grant took the right, and together they drove the Confederates from the field. For a few days thereafter Buell would be called the "Hero of Pittsburg."

It is significant to note that the greatest praise of Buell came from the men of Grant's army, in letters written immediately after the battle. When, years later, many wrote memoirs, Buell's role is almost forgotten. With the wisdom of hindsight, the writers then gave credit to Grant, who had since risen to the heights as a general, and they ignored Buell, who had fallen by the wayside. But in the few days after Shiloh, Buell's praises were sung on all sides, and Grant was damned by his men because of their losses. They were all sure that they were beaten that Sunday night, and that only the arrival of Buell saved them. "Buell came just at the right time. He is one of the best Generals in the service, and deserves the honors of this engagement," wrote a member of the 2nd Iowa. One of the 7th Iowa men described Buell as he saw him that night, riding among his troops. "Gen. Buell everywhere inspired confidence as he rode along the lines and addressed words of cheer to his troops. His superior generalship completely foiled the rebels in all their maneuvers. . . . All feel that our salvation is due to him alone." Buell's coming, wrote the surgeon of the 11th Iowa, "was the substitution of order for confusion, of the directing energy of one master spirit for the decrees of blind chance. Gen. Buell, and not Gen. Grant, is the real hero of Pittsburg Landing." To another of the 11th Iowa men, Grant was an "imbecile character." Surprisingly, even Colonel

<sup>74</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 3:347-8; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:370. In answer to criticism, Don Carlos Buell replied in "Shiloh Reviewed," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:487-536, in which Grant and Sherman suffered in comparison with his own Army of the Ohio. Buell's failure as a general, and his discharge by the government, probably left him embittered. *DAB*, 3:240-41.

<sup>75</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:274.

Crocker wrote his wife, on April 9, that on Monday the whole army was under the command of General Buell. "Nobody seemed to have any confidence in Grant," wrote another, "but think Buell can do anything." "General Grant is blamed with this great *disaster*," wrote Sergeant Boyd.<sup>76</sup>

The newspapers in the North took up the hue and cry against Grant, blaming him for the surprise and for not having fortified his position in the first place. Since breastworks had not been used in the fighting in the West, and since Pittsburg Landing was not planned as a battlefield but as a gathering point for troops, no fortifications had been built. The raw troops needed experience in "drill and discipline" rather than in building fortifications, wrote Grant. He had discussed the possibility of fortifying with his engineer, J. B. McPherson, and they had decided against it. Sherman said that they did not fortify their camps because they had no orders to do so, and because "such a course would have made our raw men timid." "At a later period of the war," he added, "we could have rendered this position impregnable in one night."<sup>77</sup>

When the last Confederate charge of the day struck Grant's strong line on the bluffs, it was feeble and ineffective. The Union line was protected by a ravine partly filled with water. Bragg sent the sadly depleted brigades of Brigadier Generals James R. Chalmers and John F. Jackson against the massed Union troops, but the attack was stopped. The men were exhausted, their ammunition almost gone, the terrain impossible. Chalmers' men "struggled vainly to ascend the hill, which was very steep, making charge after charge without success. . . . This was the sixth fight in which we had been engaged during the day, and [they] were too much exhausted to storm the batteries on the hill." Jackson's men, without ammunition "and with only their bayonets to rely on . . . advanced under a heavy fire from light batteries, siege pieces, and gunboats. Passing through the ravine, they arrived near the crest of the opposite hill upon which the enemy's batteries were, but could not be urged farther without support. Sheltering themselves against the precipitous sides of the ravine, they remained under this fire for some time."<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Letters from soldiers in the Keokuk *Gate City*, Apr. 23, 1862; Muscatine *Journal*, May 2, 1862; Des Moines *Register*, Apr. 22, 23, 1862; Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 18, 1862; see also Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:357-8; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:257.

<sup>78</sup> Chalmers and Jackson, *Official Records*, 550-51, 555; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 136-7.



A few thousand Union troops had held off attacks by almost the entire Confederate force in the "Hornet's Nest." Now a few thousand Confederates, positions reversed, threw themselves uselessly up the hill at the massed Union troops and guns. Beauregard, from his headquarters at Shiloh Church, at last ordered a cease fire.

The first day of the battle of Shiloh was over, with the Confederates in possession of almost the entire field, and Beauregard sent off a triumphant telegram to Richmond:

We this morning attacked the enemy in strong position in front of Pittsburg, and after a severe battle of ten hours, thanks be to the Almighty, gained a complete victory, driving the enemy from every position. Loss on both sides heavy, including our commander-in-chief, General A. S. Johnston, who fell gallantly leading his troops into the thickest of the fight.<sup>79</sup>

This message spread premature rejoicing through the South. But the battle of Shiloh was not over. Grant had lost almost all his camps, thousands of his men, and much of his artillery. But he was at the Landing, with the remains of his army being marshalled into line by their commanders, and he was being reinforced.

Beauregard's intelligence service had mistakenly told him that Buell was not near enough to relieve Grant, and Beauregard went to bed in Sherman's tent, sure of final victory on the morrow. Not all the Confederates were so complacent, however. The story is told that the great Confederate cavalry commander, Nathan Bedford Forrest, sent some of his men, clad in captured Union overcoats, down to the Landing during the night, and that they reported back to him that Buell's reinforcements were arriving by boatloads. Forrest reported his findings to Hardee, who was not impressed, and the message never reached Beauregard.<sup>80</sup> Confederate Colonel Preston Pond heard cheering at the river, just after firing had ceased. Thinking this was a signal of Confederate victory, his troops joined in the shouts, but they ceased abruptly as they heard the cheering at the river followed by a band playing "Hail, Columbia," hardly a Confederate air. Even General Prentiss told his captors that Buell was near. Spending the night in the tent with some of Beauregard's staff, Prentiss assured them that Buell would

<sup>79</sup> Beauregard, *Official Records*, 384, 387.

<sup>80</sup> Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 138-9; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:382; Williams, *Beauregard*, 143-4.

arrive in time, a most unwise and unmilitary communication, but fortunately no one believed him.<sup>81</sup>

With nightfall came the rain, and while the Confederate troops found food and shelter in the captured Union tents, Grant's men at the Landing huddled together, hungry, numb with fatigue, and soon soaked to the skin in the driving downpour. They were on the edge of a battlefield now strewn with the dead and dying of both armies.

No pen can tell, no hand can paint, no words can utter the horrors of last night. Such a doleful pressure of misery and woe and suffering as rested on this field of *death* Unable to succor or help the poor wounded men that fell in yesterdays battle the living cared only for themselves. . . . There was no shelter any place. . . . The groans of the *wounded* and *dying* could be heard in the din of the tempest. The struggles of the wounded horses as they floundered upon the ground and came running through the darkness made the situation one of almost as much danger as during the day in the battle.<sup>82</sup>

The wounded who had been able to reach the Landing were cared for in shacks and tents. Grant, having established his "headquarters" under a tree, tried to rest there, but his swollen ankle and the terrible burden of the responsibility gave him no rest. He finally sought shelter in a log house which the doctors were using as a hospital. But "the sight was more unendurable than encountering the enemy's fire," and the general returned to the meager shelter of his "tree in the rain."<sup>83</sup>

Had it not been for the busy sounds of troops disembarking from steamboats at the Landing, Grant and his army would have been in a sorry plight indeed. Lying in the rain, trying to get some little rest, the men could hear the comforting sound of the "steady tramp, tramp, of Buell's men as they marched past us and were pushed out to the front." All night long the men heard the noise of the steamboats, crossing and recrossing the river, bringing more and more of Buell's army to their aid, while now and then the "jar of cannon" told them that the two gunboats, the *Tyler* and the *Lexington*, were throwing shells into the Confederate camps, shells that "announced to the enemy that we were not yet wholly his."<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Pond, *Official Records*, 518; *Battles and Leaders*, 1:602-603.

<sup>82</sup> Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 35.

<sup>83</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:349.

<sup>84</sup> Bell, *Tramps and Triumphs of the Second Iowa*, 10; Wright, *History of the*

By nightfall on Sunday the two armies had been sadly reduced, not only by the dead and wounded men who lay upon the field of battle, but by the thousands on each side who had fled to the rear of their armies in terror. Much was later made of the many Union soldiers who deserted the field on Sunday. Many believed for years that the Union troops were bayoneted in their beds and that Prentiss and the men with him, who had fought so valiantly for so many hours, were captured early in the morning, in the first rush of the Confederate assault. Even McClelland, in his report to Grant, inferred as much, but McClelland was nowhere near Prentiss when the first blow came.<sup>85</sup> It is significant to note that most of the letters from Iowans that told of "surprise" were from the men in reserve near the Landing, men who did not get up to the front line until 9 or sometimes 10 o'clock. Civilians who arrived at the battlefield several days after the battle added their misconceptions of the fight. Dr. A. Ady of West Liberty, who visited the 11th Iowa shortly after the battle, wrote to the *Muscatine Journal* on April 19: "Our troops were driven back at least five miles — the first three of which was gained by the enemy while most of our army were in profound ignorance of there being an attack at all."<sup>86</sup>

According to the map of the battlefield, prepared by Major D. W. Reed, secretary and historian of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission, the Confederate troops were massed on Sunday morning four miles from the Landing, while the advance forces of Prentiss on the left center and McDowell on the right were perhaps 2½ miles from the Landing. The first assaults came at between 7 and 8 in the morning; the last attack was made at 6 o'clock in the evening, at which time the Union forces were massed from the bluff above the river to about a mile out from the Landing.<sup>87</sup> Thus Dr. Ady's account is considerably garbled, not only as to

*Sixth Iowa*, 92; Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa*, 232; letter of Sergeant H. M. White, Co. H, 11th Iowa, Apr. 16, 1862, published in *Muscatine Journal*, May 2, 1862.

<sup>85</sup> Rich, *Battle of Shiloh*, 13-21; McClelland, *Official Records*, 115. Grant forwarded McClelland's report with the comment that it was "faulty in two particulars: First, in giving the idea that General Prentiss was surprised and taken prisoner in the morning, whereas he was not taken until a late hour in the afternoon; and, second, in reporting too much of other divisions remote from the First, and from which reports are received conflicting somewhat with his statements." Grant, *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>86</sup> Letter of A. Ady in *Muscatine Journal*, May 2, 1862.

<sup>87</sup> Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, map between pp. 12-13.

what happened but as to distances. The men at the Landing, and Grant, nine miles away at Savannah, knew when the attack came. The sound of battle a few miles away could not be hidden.

The Army of the Tennessee was unquestionably surprised by the Confederate attack, but, under the direction of their officers, the men reacted quickly and put up a stout defense, and that defense, whether by accident or design, upset the Confederate plan of attack. As night fell, the Union army was consolidated in a strong position, it was being reinforced from the left and right, and Grant had made his plans for a counterattack on Monday. He assigned Buell to the left, while he himself took the right, with the remnants of his battered five divisions and Lew Wallace's fresh troops. Confident, even before the guns had been silenced on Sunday night, Grant visited Sherman, Hurlbut, and McClernand during the darkening hours, directing them to throw out skirmishers early in the morning and "push them forward until they found the enemy . . . and to engage the enemy as soon as found." He reminded Sherman of the situation at Fort Donelson, when both armies seemed defeated. The one who first assumed the offensive — in that case, Grant — had won.<sup>88</sup> Grant was now in his element — he was an attacking rather than a defending soldier. On Sunday he had had to improvise a defense on the spur of the moment; on Monday he was in command of the situation.

On the other hand, Beauregard's army, as badly shattered as Grant's, had lost all organization and was scattered over the great battlefield, some in the Union camps and others back in their own camps of the night before. Whereas Grant's division commanders had brought their men into line in a compact position, Beauregard's army, reduced almost one-half, had "turned in for the night without order."<sup>89</sup> Refusing to believe that Grant could be reinforced, Beauregard, with no hope of reinforcement himself, went to bed Sunday night convinced of victory on Monday.

The men at the Landing did not share Grant's confidence. To them, they had been badly whipped, and only the arrival of Buell gave them hope. The troops lay in a T-shaped formation, those under Hurlbut and McClernand in a line from the Landing to the Hamburg road, where Sherman's men were stationed at a right-angle along the road with Lew Wallace's fresh troops coming in to their right. Hurlbut, Sherman, and McClernand

<sup>88</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:348; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:273.

<sup>89</sup> Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 139.



had gathered up regiments without regard to their original assignments. The eight Iowa regiments remaining were scattered among the troops, some being intact, some fighting as fragments with other regiments on Monday.<sup>90</sup>

At dawn on Monday, Wallace on the right and Buell on the left began to move forward, supported by the rest of Grant's divisions. Now it was the Confederates who were surprised. But they fought back hard, and for a time Buell was stopped. All his divisions were not across the river; when additional men from the Army of the Ohio arrived, Buell began to move steadily forward. The Confederates, reduced to about 20,000, and with no hope of reinforcement, fought bravely and stubbornly, giving ground slowly, and sometimes even mounting counterattacks.<sup>91</sup> By 10 o'clock the Union line had almost reached the peach orchard and the sunken road that had figured so largely in Sunday's fighting. Nearby was the small pond where the wounded had crawled for water. Stained red with the blood of the soldiers of both armies, the little pool was ever after called "Bloody Pond." By noon the Union army was near Shiloh Church, where Beauregard still had his headquarters. The Confederates held out for two more hours, but the Union troops fought with the reassurance of the reinforcements at their side, while the Confederates had no such hope. Although they still held, they now responded slowly, sluggishly, to the commands of their officers. Sensing this, Colonel Thomas Jordan, Confederate adjutant, went to Beauregard and warned him that "the troops were very much in the condition of a lump of sugar thoroughly soaked with water, but yet preserving its original shape, though ready to dissolve." "I intend to withdraw in a few moments," replied Beauregard. At 2:30 the Confederate army began a careful retreat from the field that had been theirs on Sunday.<sup>92</sup>

The Iowa troops did not see much action on Monday. Having been through the worst of the fighting on Sunday, having lost three of their regiments, and with many of their officers wounded, most of them were held in the reserve during the second day's battle. Colonel James M. Tuttle collected all the troops from his division that he could find on Monday morning and formed them in position as a reserve to Buell. During the day

<sup>90</sup> See map, Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, between pp. 12-13, for disposition of troops on Sunday night; map between pp. 22-23 for progress of battle on Monday.

<sup>91</sup> Lew Wallace, *Official Records*, 170-71; Buell, *ibid.*, 293-4; Sherman, *ibid.*, 251; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:383-4, 385-6; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 140-41.

<sup>92</sup> *Battles and Leaders*, 1:603; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 141; Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 23; Beauregard, *Official Records*, 388.

the 2nd Iowa made a handsome bayonet charge on the enemy, on orders from General Nelson; the 7th captured a Confederate battery; and the 13th fought under General McCook of Buell's forces.<sup>93</sup>

The 2nd Iowa, aside from the charge before which the "Secesh" fled, acted as skirmishers, a task which, after Sunday's fighting, "seemed more like sport than fighting." When the 7th had silenced the battery as ordered, they occupied the position and saw about them "one of the bloodiest sights" they had ever witnessed. "Every horse of the battery had been killed or wounded and most of the men, so that it was almost impossible to walk around the position without stepping in blood."<sup>94</sup> All over the vast battlefield, as the Union soldiers advanced, they came on equally horrible evidences of the fighting. The Confederates did not surrender easily.

The 11th Iowa, with other "parts of broken regiments," lay most of the day in support of Buell and were not called on for any active fighting. "It was very trying," according to one member of the regiment, "to stand in line of battle, shells exploding over our heads and cutting off limbs of trees, spent minie balls flying all about us, yet not being able to get into action, because of the line of battle in front of us." The 3rd Iowa, led by a lieutenant as the ranking officer, moved forward at Hurlbut's orders to reinforce a portion of Buell's line. While they too stood in line, with "shot and shell" flying over their heads, someone wondered aloud whether a certain battery was theirs or the enemy's. "It is ours of course," said a voice behind them, and the men turned to see Hurlbut sitting astride his horse, calmly smoking a cigar. This general, "whom in one day they had learned to love," constantly inspired his men by his composure under fire. In one movement the 3rd Iowa became split by a confusion in orders, and at least part of the regiment went into a brief but fierce "stand-up" fight with a Confederate regiment. According to one participant, it was a "splendid test of the *morale* of the two forces." The Confederates outnumbered the Union men, but they were the first to give way, another indication that the "lump of sugar" was about to dissolve.<sup>95</sup>

As the weary Confederates trudged back toward Corinth, the Union men

<sup>93</sup> Tuttle, *Official Records*, 149.

<sup>94</sup> G. L. Godfrey of the 2nd Iowa to C. C. Cole, Apr. 9, 1862, published in *Des Moines Register*, Apr. 23, 1862; Mahon (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon," 239.

<sup>95</sup> Thompson, *Recollections with the Third Iowa*, 236, 238.

sought their tents. No effort at pursuit was made, another point of criticism of Grant (but not of Buell) by the armchair generals at home. The plain truth of the matter was that none of Grant's men were in condition to pursue, and Buell's forces, after a hard day's marching and a day of battle, were in no better shape.<sup>96</sup>

The battlefield, two days before a quiet country spot with peach trees in bloom, was now a mangled mass of trees and shrubs cut down by flying bullets and cannon balls, burned over areas from the fires set by the shots from the gunboats during the night, the earth churned to mud by the movements of 100,000 men, the ground literally covered with the blue and gray clad bodies of the dead and dying. Grant rode out to look at the field, "so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing, in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground."<sup>97</sup> Altogether, some 3,500 men of both armies lay dead on the night of April 7, and many more would die from wounds received during the battle. The official figures for total losses are:<sup>98</sup>

	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Missing or Captured</i>	<i>Total</i>
Union	1,754	8,408	2,885	13,047
Confederate	1,728	8,012	959	10,699
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,482</b>	<b>16,420</b>	<b>3,844</b>	<b>23,746</b>

Grant always questioned the Confederate figures of those killed at Shiloh. "We buried, by actual count, more of the enemy's dead in front of the divisions of McClernand and Sherman alone than here reported, and 4,000 was the estimate of the burial parties for the whole field."<sup>99</sup>

When reading the accounts of Shiloh, one wonders why there were not more than 3,500 dead on the field. William Swan of the 3rd Iowa wrote of the battle at its height:

. . . the scene can scarcely be described — it was terrific. The whole earth seemed in a blaze — the sharp, ringing crack of our muskets — our batteries belching forth their shot and shell, and roaring like the deep toned thunder — the enemy's cannon balls screeching above our heads, and ploughing through our ranks,

<sup>96</sup> Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:388-9; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 141-2.

<sup>97</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:356.

<sup>98</sup> Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 110.

<sup>99</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:367.

tearing up the earth before and behind us — large oak trees being splintered as if by lightning — limbs of trees falling, and twelve pound and twenty-four pound cannon balls — and still our brave men held their ground, like heroes, who were determined to conquer or die.<sup>100</sup>

For twelve hours or more, the troops of both armies fought in the midst of this constant roar and destruction. That the marksmanship on both sides was defective must explain why there were not more casualties.

Iowa's loss, as given in the official returns of casualties, was 235 killed, 999 wounded, 1,147 missing or captured, for a total of 2,381. If the low figure of 6,583 Iowans from the eleven regiments who fought at Shiloh is taken, this means a loss of 36 per cent; even the higher figure of 7,805 Iowans, claimed by some sources, means a loss of 30 per cent.

To the numbers of Iowans killed during the battle must be added 116 who died within days or weeks as a result of their wounds. Of the dead, 261 are buried in the cemetery at Shiloh National Military Park, although only 64 graves are identified. The Iowa casualties at Shiloh by regiments were as follows:<sup>101</sup>

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Captured</i>	<i>Total</i>
2nd	8	60	4	72
3rd	23	134	30	187
6th	52	94	37	183
7th	10	17	7	34
8th	30	72	379	481
11th	33	160	1	194
12th	12	38	429	479
13th	20	139	3	162
14th	9	28	236	273
15th	21	156	8	185
16th	17	101	13	131
Total	235	999	1,147	2,381

The field officers of the Iowa regiments suffered equally with their men. Seven of the eleven Iowa colonels at Shiloh were wounded, although none died of wounds. The colonels of the 12th and 14th were taken prisoner,

<sup>100</sup> Letter published in *Des Moines Register*, June 11, 1862.

<sup>101</sup> This information compiled from a study of the lists of members of the 11 Iowa regiments in *Roster and Record*, Vols. 1, 2. See also Reed, *Battle of Shiloh*, 90-97, for casualties.



while the colonel of the 8th escaped that fate by being wounded early in the fight on Sunday. Two lieutenant colonels and three majors were also wounded. Of the commissioned officers, 16 were killed: 6 captains, 4 first lieutenants, and 6 second lieutenants. Sixty-four noncommissioned officers died at Shiloh: 24 sergeants and 40 corporals. Furthermore, many of the 999 wounded from Iowa would never return to service, being incapacitated by amputations, loss of sight or hearing, or other serious injuries. The 1,147 who were captured were out of military service until the fall of the year, when those who had survived imprisonment were exchanged.

The other states whose men fought at Shiloh suffered similarly. Now at last the war was brought home to the Middle West. Anger at the great losses overcame any exultation over the victory so dearly bought, and people sought a scapegoat. And they found him in General Grant. So lately praised for his captures of Forts Henry and Donelson, Grant was now vilified on every hand. Sherman was still bitter about this as late as 1891 when he published his *Memoirs*. According to him, after the battle "a constant stream of civilian surgeons, and sanitary commission agents, men and women," who rushed to the scene to bring aid to the wounded, "caught up the camp-stories," and spread them abroad when they returned home. The Governor of Ohio wrote a public letter, attacking Grant and his generals. Grant did not reply, but the fiery Sherman did, and an angry exchange appeared in the *Cincinnati Commercial*.<sup>102</sup> As time passed, and new battles and new victories and defeats pushed the bitter days of Shiloh back into memory, and as men both North and South began to realize that this would be a long and bloody war, and as Grant's fame rose to its climax at Appomattox Court House, the shock of Shiloh was almost forgotten. After the war, when the Confederate reports were available, the "surprise" at Shiloh could at last be disproved. Each Confederate commander told of meeting the Union army, drawn up in line of battle. Granted that neither Grant nor Sherman expected a fight at Pittsburg Landing, and were thus "surprised" at the attack on Sunday morning, yet the warning of Prentiss' pickets gave them enough time, and they reacted quickly, so that when the first blow came they were ready. This blow sent some of the raw troops, and even some of the equally raw officers, running frantically to the rear, where they told their frightened stories to all who

<sup>102</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:274.

would listen, and the newspapers at home gave them credence. Had Lincoln listened to the politicians, who demanded Grant's head for the blunder of Shiloh, a great general might have been lost to the Union cause.

Beauregard suffered equally with Grant. The South clamored against him, blaming him for losing the victory that Johnston had within his grasp at his death. That the issue was still in doubt when Johnston died at 2:30 is now known; in April, 1862, and for long afterward, the South did not believe this, preferring to place all the onus for the loss on Beauregard.<sup>103</sup> Thus both the North and South had their scapegoats. Shiloh was to remain a black mark on the records of both the Confederate and the Union commanders.

The significance of Shiloh, aside from the fact that it was the first great battle in the West and one of the bloodiest of the whole war, was that it gave each side a new respect for the enemy. Grant wrote that he had "believed that the rebellion against the Government would collapse suddenly and soon, if a decisive victory could be gained over any of its armies." But, after Shiloh, he "gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest."<sup>104</sup> Two armies of about the same size, and with troops almost equally untrained, had gone through two days of as violent fighting as would be seen during the war; both had survived as a fighting unit, although both were battered and shattered by the experience. Had the Union army been able to pursue the Confederates, they could have destroyed Beauregard's army. Bragg wrote Beauregard on April 8, while on the retreat: "Our condition is horrible. Troops utterly disorganized and demoralized. Road almost impassable. No provisions and no forage; consequently everything is feeble. Straggling parties may get in to-night. . . . It is most lamentable to see the state of affairs, but I am powerless and almost exhausted."<sup>105</sup>

Grant planned to pursue the retreating Confederates on Tuesday morning. Sherman took two brigades of his "fatigued troops" out on Tuesday, followed a short distance and ran into some Confederate cavalry, before which his infantry "broke, threw away their muskets, and fled." Sherman then sent a cavalry troop after the Confederate horsemen, whom they dispersed. Fifteen men lay dead and twenty-five wounded in this last brush

<sup>103</sup> Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 122; Williams, *Beauregard*, 141-2.

<sup>104</sup> Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:368.

<sup>105</sup> Bragg to Beauregard, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part II, 398.

with the enemy at Shiloh. The troops were "fagged out by three day's hard fighting, exposure, and privation," and Sherman ordered them back to camp.<sup>106</sup>

Meanwhile, on the battlefield, the grim task of burying the thousands of dead went on. On Tuesday, Beauregard had asked Grant for the privilege of "giving decent interment to my dead," but Grant replied on the following day that because of "the warmth of the weather," he had had "all the dead of both parties buried immediately."<sup>107</sup>

This haste at burial resulted in very few of the graves being marked. Long trenches were dug, and the Union and Confederate dead piled in helter-skelter. "The blue and gray sleep together," wrote Sergeant Boyd of the 15th Iowa. "Can there be anything in the future that compensates for this slaughter." He saw the terrible aftermath of a giant battle, and the "pall of death that has settled down on this bloody field," and the words of the psalm had new meaning: "*This is the valley and the shadow of death.*"<sup>108</sup>

Today the battlefield of Shiloh is a national military park of some 3,700 acres, ten acres of which is a cemetery where the bodies of the dead were moved from their hastily-dug trenches. Here 3,650 men are buried, two-thirds of them unidentified.<sup>109</sup> Markers indicate the locations of the various regiments, and monuments of the traditional triangular piles of cannon balls show where Johnston and Wallace fell. Iowa's monument is a granite shaft topped with a bronze globe and eagle, while at the base a figure of "Fame" inscribes a tribute to the Iowa men who fought and died at Shiloh.

<sup>106</sup> Sherman, *Official Records*, 640-41.

<sup>107</sup> Beauregard to Grant, Apr. 8, 1862; Grant to Beauregard, Apr. 9, 1862, *ibid.*, 111.

<sup>108</sup> Throne (ed.), *Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd*, 38, 39.

<sup>109</sup> From pamphlet on Shiloh National Military Park published by the Department of the Interior, 1941.

## COMMENTS ON THE "HORNET'S NEST" — 1862 AND 1887

*Compiled by Mildred Throne*

A "sunken road" figured in many Civil War battles, the one at Shiloh being among the most famous. That the men who fought in the old road on April 6, 1862, did not understand the value of this natural trench is obvious from the reports that the regimental commanders made after the battle. Not until the 1880's, when Confederate battle reports and memoirs were published, did the Iowa soldiers come to appreciate and glory in what they had done some twenty-five years before. They discovered, among other things, that the Confederates had named that particular sunken road the "Hornet's Nest," and that they gave credit to the men who fought there for saving the Union army. Now the Iowans no longer needed to apologize for their capture that day in 1862; now they organized "Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade" and held reunions until only a handful remained to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Shiloh.

In 1884, when the tenth volume of the *Official Records* appeared, the men of the Iowa regiments eagerly read what their former enemies had to say about the battle of Shiloh. And in this volume, devoted almost entirely to reports of that battle, they found that their line of defense in the old road had been decisive. In the following year Albert Sidney Johnston's son wrote his account of the battle for the *Century Magazine*, and he too gave credit to the men of the "Hornet's Nest" for stopping the Confederate advance.<sup>1</sup> These, and other Confederate writings, brought to the Iowans who had fought in the sunken road pride in an accomplishment they had not, until then, appreciated.

In the reports of the battle written by the colonels of the five Iowa regiments in the "Hornet's Nest" — the 2nd, 7th, 8th, 12th, and 14th — immediately after the battle, the military historian finds practically no mention of the "old," the "sunken," or the "abandoned" road. The Confederate reports, however, give credit to the defensive position of the Union troops in the sunken road, adding elaborate details of the repeated attacks

<sup>1</sup> *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 1:563, 566.



necessary before the position could at last be stormed. To show the evolution of the place of honor given the "Hornet's Nest" in the history of the battle of Shiloh, the 1862 reports of the Iowa commanders, as they appear in the *Official Records*, are here reprinted, followed by a sampling of the lengthy Confederate reports in which the men in gray explained, and perhaps justified, their long fight for the position. Then, in contrast, the reports of Colonels Tuttle, Bell, and Shaw, made at the first reunion of Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade in 1887, are reprinted. These reports, particularly Tuttle's, illustrate the perils for the military historian in placing too much reliance on the memories of old soldiers. Nevertheless, their accounts are interesting as reconstructions of the fight in the sunken road in the light of the Confederate battle reports.

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### IOWA REPORTS — 1862

*Col. James M. Tuttle — 2nd Iowa:*<sup>2</sup>

. . . On the morning of the 6th I proceeded with my brigade, consisting of the Second, Seventh, Twelfth, and Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, under the direction of Brig. Gen. W. H. L. Wallace, and formed line on the left of his division. We had been in line but a few moments when the enemy made their appearance and attacked my left wing (Twelfth and Fourteenth Iowa), who gallantly stood their ground and compelled the assailants to retire in confusion. They again formed under cover of a battery and renewed the attack upon my whole line, but were repulsed as before. A third and fourth time, they dashed upon us, but were each time baffled and completely routed. We held our position about six hours, when it became evident that our forces on each side of us had given way, so as to give the enemy an opportunity of turning both our flanks. At this critical juncture General Wallace gave orders for my whole brigade to fall back, which was done in good order. The Second and Seventh Regiments retired through a severe fire from both flanks and reformed, while the Twelfth and Fourteenth, who were delayed by their endeavors to save a battery which had been placed in their rear, were completely cut off and surrounded and were compelled to surrender. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Report dated April 10, 1862, *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 148-9. (Hereafter listed as *Official Records*. All references are to this volume.) This terse report should be contrasted with the elaborate details Tuttle remembered in 1887. See below, pp. 264-9.

*Lt. Col. James C. Parrott — 7th Iowa:*<sup>3</sup>

. . . On the morning of the 6th, at 8 o'clock, I received your order to hold the regiment in readiness for a forward movement, the rebels having attacked our outposts. The regiment was formed immediately, and at about 9 a. m. it was ordered to move forward, and it took position on the left of the Second Iowa Infantry. It then moved forward by the flank until within a short distance of the advancing rebels, where it was thrown into line of battle, being in heavy timber, when it advanced to the edge of a field, from which position we got a view of a portion of the rebel forces. I ordered my men to lie down and hold themselves in readiness to resist any attack, which they did, and remained in that position until ordered to fall back at about 5 p. m., holding the rebels in check and retaining every inch of ground it had gained in the morning, being all the time under a galling fire of canister, grape, and shell, which did considerable execution in our ranks, killing several of my men and wounding others. The regiment, when ordered, fell back in good order and passed through a most galling flank fire from the enemy. . . .

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*Col. Joseph J. Woods — 12th Iowa:*<sup>4</sup>

. . . On the morning of April 6, the rebels having attacked our advanced lines at Shiloh, Tenn., the Twelfth Iowa Infantry was rapidly formed and joined the other regiments — the Second, Seventh, and Fourteenth — of the Iowa brigade, being the First Brigade, under Brigadier General Tuttle [Tuttle became a brigadier general on June 22, 1862] of the Second Division, under General Wallace. The brigade was marched to near the field beyond General Hurlbut's headquarters and formed in line of battle, the Second and Seventh on our right, the Fourteenth on our left. The Eighth Iowa, of Prentiss' division [*sic*. The 8th Iowa was in Wallace's Second Division, Third Brigade], was on the left of the Fourteenth, forming an angle to the rear with our line. An open field lay in front of our right. Dense timber covered our left. A small ravine was immediately behind us. In this position we awaited the approach of the enemy. Soon he made a bold attack on us, but met with a warm reception, and soon we repulsed

<sup>3</sup> Report written April 10, 1862, *ibid.*, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Report written April, n. d., 1862, *ibid.*, 151-2, dated at Maquoketa, Iowa. Woods was wounded and thus escaped capture. The reports written at leisure, such as those by Woods, Shaw, and Geddes, contain more details than those written by Tuttle and Parrott, written immediately after the battle.

him. Again and again repeatedly did he attack us, trying vainly to drive us from our position. On the contrary, we repulsed every attack of the enemy and drove him back in confusion.

Thus matters stood in our front until about 4 p. m., at which time it became evident, by the firing on our left, that the enemy were getting in our rear. An aide-de-camp rode up and directed me to face the rear and fall back, stating, in answer to my inquiry, that I would receive orders as to the position I was to occupy. No such orders reached me, and I suppose could not. The Second and Seventh Iowa had already gone to the rear, and on reaching the high ground between our position and General Hurlbut's headquarters we discovered that we were already surrounded by the enemy, caused by no fault of our own, but by the troops at a distance from us on our right and left giving way before the enemy. Seeing ourselves surrounded, we nevertheless opened a brisk fire on that portion of the enemy who blocked our passage to the Landing, who, after briskly returning our fire for a short time, fell back. A brisk fire from the enemy on our left (previous right) was going on at the same time. Seeing the enemy in front falling back, we attempted by a rapid movement to cut our way through, but the enemy on our left advanced rapidly, coming in behind us, pouring into our ranks a most destructive fire. The enemy in front faced about and opened on us at short range, the enemy in our rear still closing in on us rapidly. I received two wounds, disabling me from further duty. The command then devolved on Captain [Samuel R.] Edgington [of Company A], acting as field officer. . . . To have held out longer would have been to suffer complete annihilation. The regiment was therefore compelled to surrender as prisoners of war. . . .

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*Col. William T. Shaw — 14th Iowa:*<sup>5</sup>

. . . Our division occupied the center of the line, having that of General Prentiss on its left, with General Hurlbut beyond him, while the divisions of Generals Sherman and McClelland were on its right. Our brigade occupied the left of the division, and was arranged . . . so that the Fourteenth occupied the extreme left of our division, next to General Prentiss' command.

<sup>5</sup> Written at Anamosa, Iowa, October 26, 1862, after Shaw's release from prison, and addressed to Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, since Shaw's parole prevented him from making an "official report." *Ibid.*, 152-4.

Our line of battle was formed about half past 8 o'clock a. m., about 500 yards from the enemy's artillery, which at once opened a severe fire upon us. The ground was rolling and wooded, but free from underbrush,<sup>6</sup> interspersed here and there with cleared fields and cut up by several roads.

In a short time the enemy's infantry made their appearance, advancing in line of battle. I at once perceived that the line of our brigade was not parallel with theirs, but inclined to it at an angle of about 45 degrees, the left in advance, thus exposing my left flank to the enemy some distance in advance of General Prentiss' line, upon which it should have rested, and about 200 yards from his extreme right. After consulting with Colonel Woods, of the Twelfth, who was next to me on the right, I threw back my regiment and the left wing of the Twelfth, so as to bring our part of the line parallel to the advancing enemy and in line with General Prentiss' division, but still failing to connect with it by an interval of about 200 yards. This also improved our position, which had previously been directly upon a ridge, exposed to the enemy's artillery, and gave us that ridge as a partial shelter. The enemy advanced steadily in two lines, about 200 yards apart. I ordered my men to lie down and hold their fire until they were within thirty paces. The effect of this was, that when the order to fire was given, and the Twelfth and Fourteenth opened directly in their faces, the enemy's first line was completely destroyed. Our fire was only returned by a few, nearly all who were not killed or wounded by it fleeing in every direction. I then immediately advanced my regiment, in which I was gallantly joined by the left wing of the Twelfth. Passing almost without opposition over the ground which had been occupied by the first lines, we attacked and drove back their second for some distance, until I was forced to recall my men for fear of my left flank being turned, no part of General Prentiss' division having advanced with us. In this movement we took a number of prisoners, including 1 captain, whom I sent to the rear. Returning, the Fourteenth took up its old position in the line of battle, and Colonel [James L.] Geddes, of the Eighth Iowa, now formed his regiment on our left, in line with us and General Prentiss' division, filling up the gap which had previously existed there. That division, however, with the one beyond it, materially changed its position in the course of the forenoon, its left falling back

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps there was no underbrush at this particular point in the line, but all the Confederate reports mention the heavy growth of underbrush that protected most of this position.



repeatedly, until the line of these two divisions had swung around almost at right angles to us. I now perceived a large force of the enemy approaching from the left and front, and immediately reported the fact to Colonel Tuttle, who, at my request, sent me a couple of brass 6-pounders, which were near by. These I got into position just in time to receive the enemy. They advanced with the most desperate bravery, the brunt of their attack falling upon the Eighth Iowa, by whom it was most gallantly borne. I have good authority for saying that the firm resistance of the center at that time was the chief means of saving our whole army from destruction.<sup>7</sup> The fighting continued with great severity for about an hour, during which we repelled what General Beauregard in his official report counts as three of the five distinct charges made by the rebels that day upon our center, and at the end of that time the enemy facing us fell back fully repulsed. Colonel Geddes now withdrew a short distance to take care of his wounded, and at his request, as his position was more important and exposed than my own, I moved to the left and occupied it, thus leaving an interval on my right between us and the Twelfth. When Colonel Geddes reformed it was on the right of General Prentiss, with whom Colonel Geddes fought during the rest of the day.

General Prentiss' line had now swung around so far as to be almost parallel with ours, and back to back with us, about 150 yards in our rear, at our end of the two lines. In this position he was again engaged by a large body of the enemy, who had advanced from the left, having driven in General Hurlbut's division. At about a quarter to 5 p. m. I received an order from Colonel Tuttle to about-face and proceed to engage the same body of the enemy. In order not to interfere with General Prentiss' lines I marched by an oblique, passing close to the Eighteenth Wisconsin in his line, and here for the third time that day the Fourteenth engaged with the enemy. After less than half an hour we repulsed them and made a short advance, which revealed to me the facts of our position. The enemy's center had advanced over the ground defended by us before our change of

<sup>7</sup> Here Shaw expresses an opinion not much current at the time. That he had had several months of imprisonment to mull over the battle and argue it out with fellow-prisoners explains why his report and those of Cols. Woods and Geddes are more detailed than those of Tuttle and Parrott. "Every day we fought the battle of Shiloh over again," wrote Capt. J. H. Stibbs, in an account of their imprisonment. Mildred Throne (ed.), "Towans in Southern Prisons, 1862," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:86 (January, 1956).

front and were now attacking us in the rear. Both wings of their forces had advanced so far as to form a junction between us and Pittsburg Landing, their right, which we were now facing, meeting at an angle with their left, which had driven in McClernand's and Sherman's divisions on our right, and into this angle we were about being pressed by this new attack in our rear. General Prentiss having already surrendered with a part of his command, the Fourteenth was left in advance of all that remained, but completely inclosed, receiving the enemy's fire from three directions. The regiment still kept its ranks unbroken and held its position facing the enemy, but the men were almost completely exhausted with a whole day of brave and steady fighting and many of them had spent their whole stock of ammunition. It was therefore useless to think of prolonging a resistance which could only have wasted their lives to no purpose, and at about a quarter to six p. m. I surrendered them and myself prisoners of war. . . .

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*Col. James L. Geddes — 8th Iowa:*<sup>8</sup>

. . . About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 6th I ordered the regiment under arms and formed line of battle in front of my encampment, awaiting orders to proceed to the front. At this time the firing on our advanced line had become general, and it appeared to me evident that we were being attacked in force by the rebel general. After remaining under arms about half an hour, during which time I had ordered the baggage belonging to the regiment to be loaded on the wagons and an extra supply of ammunition to be issued to the men, I was ordered by Colonel [Thomas W.] Sweeny, Fifty-second Illinois, brigade commander, to proceed to the front. On arriving at our advanced line I was ordered by Colonel Sweeny to take my position on the left of the brigade to which I was attached, for the purpose of protecting a battery immediately in front. Here the regiment remained about one hour exposed to a severe fire from artillery of shell and grape, killing and wounding several of my men.

About 11 a. m. I was ordered by Colonel Sweeny, through his aide, Lieutenant [William] McCullough, Eighth Iowa, to leave my position and take ground to my left and front. This change of position brought my regiment on the extreme right of General Prentiss' division and left of General Smith's [sic. Wallace's], the latter being the division to which my regiment

<sup>8</sup> *Official Records*, 165-7. Written at Vinton, Nov. 13, 1862, and addressed to Governor Kirkwood.

belonged. I was thus entirely detached from my brigade, nor did I receive any orders from my brigade or division commander during the remainder of that day. On arriving at the point I was ordered to defend I formed my regiment in line of battle, with my center resting on a road leading from Corinth to Pittsburg Landing and at right angles with my line. Here I immediately engaged a battalion of the enemy, and after a severe conflict of nearly an hour's duration, in which I lost many of my men, the enemy were driven back with heavy loss. . . .

About 1 p. m. General Prentiss placed a battery in position immediately in front of my regiment, with instructions to defend it to the last. The precision of its fire, which was directed by the general in person, made great havoc in the advancing columns of the enemy. It therefore became an object of great importance to them to gain possession of the battery. To this end they concentrated and hurled column after column on my position, charging most gallantly to the very muzzles of the guns. Here a struggle commenced for the retention and possession of the battery of a terrific character, their concentrated and well-directed fire decimating my ranks in a fearful manner. In this desperate struggle my regiment lost 100 men in killed and wounded. . . .

About 3 p. m. all direct communication with the river ceased, and it became evident to me that the enemy were driving the right and left flanks of our army and were rapidly closing behind us. At this time I could have retreated, and most probably would have saved my command from being captured had I been ordered back at this time; but I received no such order, and I considered it my duty to hold the position I was assigned to defend at all hazards.

General Prentiss' division having been thrown back from the original line, I changed front by my left flank, conforming to his movements and at right angles with my former base, which was immediately occupied and retained for some time by the Fourteenth Iowa, Colonel Shaw. In this position I ordered my regiment to charge a battalion of the enemy (I think the Fourth Mississippi), which was closing fast around us. The shells from our own gunboats in their transit severing the limbs of trees hurled them on my own ranks.

It now became absolutely necessary, to prevent annihilation, to leave a position which my regiment had held nearly ten consecutive hours of severe fighting, successfully resisting and driving back the enemy in every attempt

to take the position I was ordered to hold and defend. With a loss of near 200 in killed and wounded I ordered my regiment to retire. On retiring about 300 yards I found a division of the rebels under General Polk thrown completely across my line of retreat. I perceived that further resistance was useless, as we were now completely surrounded. Myself and the major portion of my command were captured at 6 p. m. of that day, and I claim the honor for my regiment of being the last to leave the advanced line of our army on the battlefield of Shiloh on Sunday, April 6. . . .

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### CONFEDERATE REPORTS — 1862

*Gen. Braxton Bragg* — Second Corps:<sup>9</sup>

. . . Our right flank, according to the order of battle, had pressed forward ardently under the immediate direction of the commanding general and swept all before it. Batteries, encampments, store-houses, munitions in rich profusion, were ours, and the enemy, fighting hard and causing us to pay dearly for our successes, was falling back rapidly at every point. His left, however, opposite our right, was his strongest ground and position, and was disputed with obstinacy. . . .

Meeting at about 10.30 o'clock upon the left center with Major-General [Leonidas] Polk, my senior, I promptly yielded to him the important command at that point, and moved toward the right, in the direction in which Brigadier-General [T. C.] Hindman, of Hardee's line, had just led his division. Here we met the most obstinate resistance of the day, the enemy being strongly posted with infantry and artillery, on an eminence immediately behind a dense thicket. Hindman's command was gallantly led to the attack, but recoiled under a murderous fire. The noble and gallant leader fell, severely wounded, and was borne from the field he had illustrated with a heroism rarely equaled.

The command soon returned to its work, but was unequal to the heavy task. Leaving them to hold their position, I moved farther to the right, and brought up the First Brigade ([Col. R. L.] Gibson), of [Brigadier General Daniel] Ruggles' division, which was in rear of its first position, and threw them forward to attack this same point. A very heavy fire soon opened, and after a short conflict this command fell back in considerable disorder. Rallying the different regiments, by means of my staff officers and

<sup>9</sup> Dated April 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 465-6.



escort, they were twice more moved to the attack, only to be driven back by the enemy's sharpshooters occupying the thick cover. This result was due entirely to want of proper handling. Finding that nothing could be done here, after hours of severe exertion and heavy losses, and learning of the fall of our commander, who was leading in person on the extreme right, the troops were so posted as to hold this position, and leaving a competent staff officer to direct them in my name, I moved rapidly to the extreme right. Here I found a strong force, consisting of three parts, without a common head — Brigadier-General [John C.] Breckinridge, with his reserve division, pressing the enemy; Brigadier-General [Jones M.] Withers, with his splendid division, greatly exhausted and taking a temporary rest, and Major-General [B. F.] Cheatham, with his division, of Major-General Polk's corps, to their left and rear. These troops were soon put in motion, responding with great alacrity to the command of "Forward! let every order be forward."

It was now probably past 4 o'clock, the descending sun warning us to press our advantage and finish the work before night should compel us to desist. Fairly in motion, these commands again, with a common head and a common purpose, swept all before them. Neither battery nor battalion could withstand their onslaught. Passing through camp after camp, rich in military spoils of every kind, the enemy was driven headlong from every position and thrown in confused masses upon the river bank, behind his heavy artillery and under cover of his gunboats at the Landing. He had left nearly the whole of his light artillery in our hands and some 3,000 or more prisoners, who were cut off from their retreat by the closing in of our troops on the left, under Major-General Polk, with a portion of his reserve corps, and Brigadier-General Ruggles, with [Brigadier General Patton] Anderson's and [Colonel Preston] Pond's brigades of his division. . . .

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*Maj. Gen. B. F. Cheatham — Second Division, First Corps.*<sup>10</sup>

. . . Advancing about the distance of a mile I was directed by Major-General Polk to deploy the Second Brigade to the left as a support to General Bragg's left wing, then hotly engaged with the forces of the enemy. Taking the position as ordered, I remained here for half an hour and until ordered by General Beauregard to proceed with the Second Brigade to the

<sup>10</sup> Dated April 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 438-9.

extreme right of our line to ascertain the point where the firing was heaviest and there engage the enemy at once.

At about 10 a. m. I reached the front of an open field lying east of the center of the Federal line of encampments and discovered the enemy in strong force, occupying several log houses. His line extended behind a fence and occupied an abandoned road. He was advantageously located. I here directed Captain Smith to move his pieces forward and open on the enemy, which was done with the utmost promptness and under a fire that disabled a number of his horses before he could unlimber and come into battery. For nearly an hour the firing was kept up with the enemy's battery — superior to ours in the caliber and range of its guns — with a result highly creditable to the skill and gallantry of Captain Smith, his officers and men.

About this time General Breckinridge, with his command, came up and took position on my right, and opened upon the enemy a heavy fire of musketry, and a few moments afterward I was directed by Colonel [Thomas] Jordan, assistant adjutant-general to General Beauregard, to charge the battery to my front. I at once put the brigade in motion at double-quick time across the open field, about 300 yards in width, flanked on one side by a fence and dense thicket of forest trees and undergrowth. So soon as the brigade entered the field the enemy opened upon us from his entire front a terrific fire of artillery and musketry, but failed altogether to check our movement until we reached the center of the field, when another part of the enemy's force, concealed and protected by the fence and thicket to our left, opened a murderous cross-fire upon our lines, which caused my command to halt and return their fire.

After a short time I fell back to my original position, and moving a short distance to the right, with General Breckinridge on my right, we together attacked the enemy, about 5,000 strong, admirably posted, and were actively and continuously engaged for three hours. . . .

About 2:30 p. m., Colonel [George] Maney, with the left wing of his regiment, the First Tennessee, reported to me in front of the position which the enemy had to this time held obstinately against the efforts of parts of the commands of Generals Bragg, Breckinridge, and my own. General Breckinridge, meantime, had moved his command forward and to my right, and was slowly but steadily pressing it through a dense wood to attack the position on its left, and with the purpose of sustaining him by vigorous co-

operation against its front I directed Colonel Maney to immediately prepare for action, advising him, so far as time permitted, of the difficulties of the position, and instructing him as to where our different forces were located, and, at his own request, giving him the privilege of selecting his command for the purpose. The Ninth Tennessee (Colonel [Henry L.] Douglass) being at hand and having to this time suffered less than the others of the Second Brigade, was, with his battalion of the First Tennessee, selected to move forward with him across the field fronting the wood, while Colonel [David H.] Cummings, Nineteenth Tennessee Regiment (properly of General Breckinridge's command, but which had been with Colonel Maney on his detached service during the morning), was placed to his right and between General Breckinridge and myself, with instructions to move forward in concert with the First and Ninth Tennessee.

With these dispositions I pressed the final attack upon the position in question. Colonel Maney advanced his First and Ninth in excellent order across the field, and was so fortunate as to almost reach the shelter of the woods before the enemy opened fire on him. Pressing forward to this point, he ordered his line to lie down until a general fire from the enemy's line had been delivered, and then promptly resumed his advance. The next instant I knew (from the lively cheering in his direction) that his charge had begun and the enemy routed and driven by it. Judging the enemy now to be in full retreat, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel [John H.] Miller, of the First Battalion of Mississippi Cavalry, now of Colonel [A. J.] Lindsay's regiment, to move forward rapidly in the direction of the retreating column and fall upon him in his flight. This was well executed, and resulted in the capture of a number of prisoners, together with Captain Ross' (Michigan) battery of six guns entire, including officers and men, which had acted vigorously in defending the position. As this position, with regard to my own command, was by far the most obstinately contested by the enemy during Sunday, so it was the last which he seriously contested during the day. . . .

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*Col. George Maney* — Second Division, First Corps:<sup>11</sup>

. . . As I approached the battle quite a number from other commands, who had dropped back seemingly exhausted by fatigue, cheered by the arrival of even this small body of fresh troops, rallied on my rear and advanced with me.

<sup>11</sup>Dated April 25, 1862, *ibid.*, 454-5.

In a few moments I found and reported to Major-General Cheatham at the time engaged in an effort to dislodge the enemy from a wood a little to the east of his center. My brigade, under Colonel [William H.] Stephens, senior officer in my absence, had been warmly engaged at this position before my arrival, and the Sixth Tennessee, as I was informed, having suffered particularly severely in a gallant charge here, had been temporarily withdrawn when I came up. General Cheatham directed me to immediately attack the enemy's position in this wood, giving me the privilege of selecting my command for the purpose, and advising me of its being a difficult position and of the failure of several previous efforts by our troops to carry it. Colonel Cummings, Nineteenth Tennessee Regiment, being now in sight, and the Ninth Tennessee at hand and comparatively fresh, were, with the First Tennessee Battalion, selected as my attacking force. Observing the ground in advance not to favor an extended line of battle, Colonel Douglass' regiment was formed on the left of the First Tennessee and Major [F. H.] McNairy, aide-de-camp to Major-General Cheatham, was requested to move Colonel Cummings' regiment a short distance to the right, with instructions to advance from that position in concert with the balance of my command upon the enemy in the wood. With the First and Ninth in line, I moved over an open field directly on the enemy in the woods, and on approaching met some of our own troops retiring before a destructive fire. My line of battle was promptly opened by the right of companies to the front, so as to allow our friends to pass to the rear, and at the same time quickening my advance I was so fortunate as to pass the field and gain the cover of the woods before the enemy's attention seemed fairly directed to me. Here my command was ordered to lie down, and a fire was opened mainly for the purpose of ascertaining by the enemy's reply his force and exact position. This was quickly done, and immediately on his fire being delivered my advance was renewed in good order. Observing in a few moments the enemy to give indications of wavering, I on the moment ordered the First and Ninth to the charge. The order was responded to with a cheer, and both regiments sprang forward with enthusiasm worthy of their cause, holding an alignment which would have done credit to veterans.

. . .

The charge was in every way a success. The enemy could not wait to sustain the shock, but broke in disorder and fled precipitately before us. In a few moments we occupied the position which he had perhaps contested



with as much obstinacy as any on that day. It proved to be a small ravine passing diagonally toward the river, fringed with a considerable growth of small timber, thus forming an excellent natural rifle pit. . . .

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*Col. Randall L. Gibson* — First Division, Second Corps:<sup>12</sup>

. . . I was then commanded by Major-General Bragg to attack the enemy in a position to the front and right. The brigade moved forward in fine style, marching through an open field under a heavy fire and half way up an elevation covered with an almost impenetrable thicket, upon which the enemy was posted. On the left a battery opened that raked our flank, while a steady fire of musketry extended along the entire front. Under this combined fire our line was broken and the troops fell back; but they were soon rallied and advanced to the contest. Four times the position was charged and four times the assault proved unavailing. The strong and almost inaccessible position of the enemy — his infantry well covered in ambush and his artillery skillfully posted and efficiently served — was found to be impregnable to infantry alone. We were repulsed. Our men, however, bore their repulse with steadiness. When a larger force of infantry and artillery was moved to flank this position on the right, a part of the brigade formed on the left of the assaulting line, and a part held a position to the rear in the old field near by. The enemy was driven from his position. From this his retreat became precipitate, and in obedience to orders we moved with the main body of the army toward the river. . . .

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*Col. B. L. Hodge* — 19th Louisiana:<sup>13</sup>

. . . Immediately after our line halted a battery of the enemy, posted on an eminence to the left and rear of their front line of camps, opened on us with shot and shell. Although exposed to this fire for fully half an hour, only two of my men were wounded, the guns of the enemy at this point being served with little effect except upon the tree-tops around us. This battery having been captured by the troops of some other command, and our brigade having been moved forward a short distance beyond the outer line of the enemy's camps, my regiment upon the verge of an old field, we for the first time engaged the enemy. Seeing that the distance was too great for our arms to do execution, we ceased firing after two or three rounds.

<sup>12</sup>Dated April 12, 1862, *ibid.*, 480.

<sup>13</sup> Dated April, n. d., 1862, *ibid.*, 492-3.

The enemy again noticed our presence by a few shells, but with even less effect than before.

From this point we moved about half a mile to the right and a little in advance, passing through a wheat field. We crossed a road leading in the direction of Hamburg.

At this time the First Arkansas and my regiment were well together in line, as I could see while passing through the field. Just after crossing the road my regiment entered a small farm, a log cabin near the center, our line extending across the field. We had advanced midway the little farm, which is about 150 yards in width, when the enemy, lying in ambush about 80 or 100 yards beyond the outer fence and directly in our front, opened fire upon our entire line. Although the fire was not expected at the moment, the advance of the regiment was not checked in the slightest; but moving forward steadily to the fence the men commenced to deliver their fire at will. Owing to the impenetrable undergrowth between the enemy's position and ours I was unable to see him, and from the manner of the men looking through the bushes, as if hunting an object for their aim, it was apparent that they too were unable to descry the concealed foe, and were only firing at the flash of the enemy's pieces.

Seeing that my men were being rapidly shot down, and having no reason to believe that we were inflicting equal injury upon the enemy, I gave the order to cease firing and to charge bayonets. Officers and men alike obeyed the order promptly. So dense and impenetrable became the thicket of undergrowth that after my men had boldly forced their way 20 or 30 steps into it, and it seeming impossible to make further progress, I again gave the order to commence firing.

The regiment now gradually fell back to the fence. Finding that the enemy were now opening a cross-fire upon us from our left, and seeing a large number of my small command killed and wounded, I deemed it my duty to order the regiment to fall back to the other side of the little farm, which was accordingly done in good order.

In this unequal conflict — unequal on account of the enemy's local position — the regiment sustained heavy loss. In this one action, out of little less than 300 we had lost in killed and wounded between 40 and 50 as brave and gallant men as ever risked their lives in the defense of a righteous cause. . . .

Having fallen back beyond the small farm, I halted the regiment and

waited in the hope that the enemy would leave his covert and give us a fair fight. But he too fully appreciated his great advantage of position to give it up.

Remaining in this position a short time, having had no order from your or our division commander, I received an order from General Bragg, transmitted through one of his staff, to advance again and attack the same position from which we had just withdrawn. Of course the order was obeyed without delay; but I requested the officer to say to the general that I thought it impossible to force the enemy from this strong position by a charge from the front, but that with a light battery playing on one flank and a simultaneous charge of infantry on the other the position could be carried with but small loss.

Again we advanced into the little farm, and again, when midway the clearing, the enemy opened fire upon us. Again we pressed on to the other fence directly in front of his ambuscade. Here we remained exposed to his merciless fire for over half an hour, without the power to inflict any apparent injury upon the hidden foe. In justice to my command I again ordered them to fall back, which was done in as good order as before. . . .

I may be permitted to add, sir, that this formidable position of the enemy, after having withstood the repeated attacks of various regiments, was only carried at last by a charge upon the right flank, supported by a battery on the left. . . .

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#### IOWA REPORTS — 1887

*Gen. J. M. Tuttle:*<sup>14</sup>

In reviewing, in form of amended report, the part taken by the First Brigade, Second Division, Army of the Tennessee, in the first day of the battle of Shiloh, I deem it not out of place to explain that the reason why my official report was so abbreviated and did not state in full all that took place that day, was that I was quite sick when the battle began, and the fatigue and exposure during the three days compelled my confinement in bed for fully two months thereafter. What I did report was written by the Adjutant from notes dictated by me while in bed and was not so full of detail as I now wish it had been. Some histories from a Union standpoint do us nearly justice — some partial justice and some rank justice [*sic.* in-

<sup>14</sup> *First Reunion of Iowa's Hornet's Nest Brigade . . . 1887* (Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1888), 12-15.

justice] — but since the publication of the official reports of rebel officers and their histories of that battle, the importance of our position, and the tenacity with which we held it, have attracted more of the attention of historians than formerly, and let us now hope that if a true history of that battle shall ever be written, we will have full justice done us. One reason for not having our full share of the credit that we were entitled to, was that for the eight hours that we held our ground there was no officer visited us to see what we were doing, except General Wallace, our division commander, and he having been killed, what knowledge he had was never reported.<sup>15</sup>

The name of "Hornet's Nest" was given to our position by the rebels themselves, and the identification was made complete by some rebel officers in the fall of 1884, while making a survey for the picture at Chicago. These soldiers had been in some of the charges made against our lines, and their decision in the matter is not disputed. . . .

On awakening about sunrise on the morning of the 6th of April, 1862, my attention was attracted by severe firing at the front, and the impression was made on my mind at once that it was the commencement of a great battle, and that we were surprised and in no condition to receive an enemy who, I believed, was attacking us in force. I ordered my horse immediately and rode to General Wallace's tent to report myself ready to take command of the brigade. He did not seem to think that a general engagement was on, but that it was only some picket firing, such as we had experienced a day or two before.<sup>16</sup> I ordered the brigade under arms, however, and rode out to the main road, which I found full of fugitives, among whom were quite a number of wounded men belonging to the regiments first engaged. I reported this to General Wallace, as well as that the brigade was ready to move, and that I thought we were needed badly at the front. He then directed me to proceed to the front and take with me the artillery of the division under Major [J. S.] Cavender [1st Missouri Light Artillery], which was then on its way to a field near by for inspection, and that he would

<sup>15</sup> This is not correct. Grant visited the position at least once. Prentiss showed him the disposition of the troops, of which Grant approved and instructed Prentiss to "maintain that position at all hazards." *Official Records*, 278-9.

<sup>16</sup> This is questionable. Prentiss had sent word to both Hurlbut and Wallace of the attack before 6 o'clock. Prentiss, *ibid.*, 278. One can only surmise that Tuttle here is taking more credit than he deserves. Probably 25 years had blurred his memory, or expanded it.



join me with the other two brigades in a short time. I directed the march on the main road, which was filled with fugitives consisting of men from the divisions of Sherman and Prentiss, camp followers of all kinds, who were making their way to the river as fast as possible. By the time we arrived at the junction of the Corinth and Hamburg roads the roads were clear of fugitives, and I took the Corinth road for the reason that as the firing was heavy on both flanks, it occurred to me that our center was unprotected. On crossing the ravine a short distance from the junction the main road led through low ground, so I took an old road that led to the left and over higher ground. After following this road for about a quarter of a mile or more without seeing any person or hearing a sound of any kind in our front, we came to the corner of Duncan's field, at 8:30 o'clock. On looking across the field with a glass I could see the bayonets of soldiers, marching in line, apparently towards us. We did not wait long until I could make out that they were the gray. I immediately ordered the brigade to deploy in the following order: Second Iowa on the right and extending across the main Corinth road, which was about 300 yards from the one we had marched out on; the 7th Iowa on the left of the 2nd and in the rear of the field, and the 12th Iowa on the left of the 7th, with two companies also in rear of the field, and the other seven companies extending out into the wooded ground to the left; the 14th to the left of the 12th, also in the woods and forming the left flank of the brigade. Both flanks were in the air and without support. All were in an old sunken road, running across the other roads and close to the fence of the field.<sup>17</sup> The artillery was placed on higher ground in the rear of the infantry. These dispositions were no sooner made than the enemy could be plainly seen bearing down upon us in two lines and in large force, which afterward proved to be Ruggles' Division. While deploying, the importance of the position was forced upon me. Sherman and McClernand were fighting hard far on the right, Prentiss and Hurlbut the same on the left, and but for what opposition we could present there was nothing to prevent the enemy from marching unobstructed to the camp of our division near the landing, and, thus dividing our army into four parts, destroy us in detail. I therefore determined to hold this position at all hazards until the rest of the division came

<sup>17</sup> Later at this same reunion, in replying to a toast to the "Iowa Hornet's Nest Brigade," Tuttle took credit for finding the sunken road, although admitting that he "did not know the old road . . . until he had taken his position." *First Reunion* . . ., 30.

up. Cavender opened upon them at once with two of his batteries, which soon silenced the same number of the enemy's batteries that had gone into position on the opposite side of the field, but their infantry pushed on, when I ordered Baker and Parrott, of the 2nd and 7th, to open fire on them, which they did with great vigor and terrific effect. They were driven back with great loss, after getting about half way across the field. I could see many of them were going in an oblique direction across the corner of the field to the woods in front of the 2nd and 4th [sic. 7th], when another brigade was advancing on Woods and Shaw, and in a very short time their lines were attacked with great vigor and determination, but they nobly held their ground, and the enemy were compelled to retire with heavy loss. Soon after another strong force attacked Woods and Shaw with the same result. About this time Sweeney [sic. Col. Thomas W. Sweeny] appeared on my right with all his brigade except the 8th Iowa, Colonel Geddes, who marched to our left, and formed on the left of Colonel Shaw and took position by his direction. Colonel Sweeney reported to me that he had formed his brigade on my right. This was about noon.<sup>18</sup> Soon after this Colonel Shaw reported to me that a portion of Prentiss' Division was in line about 200 yards to the left of the 8th Iowa. I could tell from the firing that Sherman and McClermand on the right and Prentiss and Hurlbut on the left were being steadily driven back. I could see, therefore, that we were breaking the enemy's center by holding our position, and I expected a renewed and more vigorous attack, which soon came along my whole front. This was the most terrific assault of the day. That in front of the 2nd and 7th was soon repulsed, but in front of the 12th, 14th and 8th the fighting was stubborn and determined and lasted for over an hour. Shaw sent for artillery, which was given him and was used to excellent effect. Geddes got a section of artillery from Prentiss, who had connected with his left. The fighting was hardest in front of the 8th, or rather, it lasted the longest there. The rebels had got on their mettle on account of this "Hornet's

<sup>18</sup> Tuttle's memory of the time of Sweeny's arrival seems faulty. Col. Sweeny was wounded at Shiloh and made no report himself, but according to Col. Geddes, 8th Iowa, Sweeny's brigade had been fighting an hour before, "At 11 a. m.," Sweeny ordered the 8th Iowa into position on Tuttle's left. *Official Records*, 165. This is one of several places in this report where Tuttle seems to be taking far more credit than he deserves. He says little about Wallace, whereas Wallace, with Prentiss and Hurlbut, co-operated all during the day in the defense of this position. See Prentiss, *ibid.*, 279. These three generals commanded divisions; not until Wallace's death during the retreat late in the afternoon did Tuttle become a division commander.

Nest," and they performed prodigies of valor in trying to take the position. They charged up to within a few rods of our lines and would hold their ground until most of them fell. This charge was scarcely off until another was on, for three or four hours of almost continuous fighting. But they were repulsed on all of them with heavy loss. According to rebel reports, they were beaten away from this position seven times. I reported it five times. It was hard to tell when one charge ended and another began, for during four hours there was fighting on some part of my line all the time. The effect of the desperate fighting here could best be seen the next day. The ground was literally covered with the enemy's dead, the wounded having been taken away. In several places could be seen dead men and horses piled up with dismounted cannon and small arms promiscuously, presenting a horrid scene of the cruelties of war, always liable to occur during great battles. During this time Prentiss and Hurlbut had been doubled back and were in line 800 yards in my rear, with backs to us, and still fighting in their front. Geddes had to change the front of half of his regiment to conform to Prentiss' line, and at times there were intervals between him and Shaw, and at other times between Shaw and Woods, but they were only temporary for the purpose of meeting some more than usually determined charge at a given point, and were not forced. Sweeney, for some cause unknown to me, had allowed his brigade on my right to get into confusion and go to pieces as a brigade, but I understand the regiments kept their organizations. This left my right exposed. About this time, 4:30 p. m., General Wallace came to me and while I was explaining to him what I had been doing during the day, Lieutenant [George L.] Godfrey, of Company D, 2nd Iowa, who was at the extreme right of my line, at the right corner of the Duncan field, came and reported that the enemy was passing my right flank and that the woods on my right were full of rebels. We realized at once that we soon would be, if we were not already surrounded, and after a short consultation we determined to retire the brigade. Wallace was to take the 2nd and 7th down the Corinth road to the junction, where the old road came into it, and I was to take the 12th, 14th and 8th to the same place by the old road. I sent staff officers at once to give the order to fall back in line to the top of the high ground in the rear. The 2nd and 7th got back first and started down the road by the flank with Wallace at their head. They went but a short distance when they were fired upon by a heavy force and Wallace fell from his horse at the first fire. Seeing him

fall I gave hasty instructions to staff officers to direct Woods, Shaw and Geddes to move rapidly down the old road and form a junction with me. I rode forward to the head of the column, and on arriving at the junction of the road I saw a force of the enemy in line in front of me in the camp of the 3rd Iowa. I immediately deployed the two regiments, expecting the others up by the time the deployment should be completed, but they not coming, and the firing being exceedingly heavy on both flanks and the front, I ordered a charge in which we drove the enemy before us and got through, but with heavy loss. I learned afterward that the last orders to Woods, Shaw and Geddes were not delivered, and they, not knowing where we had gone nor what they were expected to do, commenced, each one, to fall back as best he could, and when they reached the place where we got through, found it closed up again with a stronger line, and they were compelled to surrender. After we had got through and gone a short distance, I halted the two regiments and was soon joined by Colonel Crocker with the 13th Iowa. I then heard heavy firing in the rear and correctly concluded that the other Iowa regiments were fighting to get out, and so I determined to go back and help them, but after going a short distance the firing ceased, which caused me to conclude that they had surrendered, which conclusion was correct, as we found out afterward. . . .

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*Col. W. J. Shaw* — 14th Iowa:<sup>19</sup>

The report made to Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa, October 26th, 1862, of the operations of the 14th Iowa in the battle of Shiloh, a few days after my release from prison, is probably as correct and complete as anything I can give you now. . . . On the morning of April 6th, 1862, heavy firing was heard about sunrise, and its rattle and boom increased until about 8 a. m., when the wounded and stragglers began to come in from the front. Between 8 and 9 a. m. Tuttle's brigade, to which the 14th Iowa belonged, and which was a part of the reserve, was ordered to move towards the front. Marching out on the Corinth road we met crowds of men belonging to Prentiss' and Sherman's divisions fleeing towards the Landing, who said their regiments were all cut to pieces and that the enemy was close upon us. . . . The brigade soon came in sight of the enemy, [and] formed in line of battle along an old road that lay in front of a cleared space and extended to the left into the thick timber and brush. The

<sup>19</sup> *First Reunion* . . ., 21-5.



2d Iowa was on the right, the 7th, 12th and 14th in order to the left. The 2d, 7th and right wing of the 12th had the open field in front of them, and the left wing of the 12th and the 14th extended into the timber with a dense thicket in front of them.

Our line was scarcely formed when the enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery upon us. Soon their infantry advanced through the timber to the left of the field upon the 14th and the left wing of the 12th. Reserving their fire till the enemy was within thirty paces, the 14th and 12th opened upon them and drove them back with heavy loss. They soon rallied, however, attacked us a second time and were a second time driven back, leaving many of their dead and wounded in the timber and brush. These troops, after their second repulse, withdrew out of sight. Then a large body of the enemy was seen to enter the open ground in front of the 2d and 7th regiments, who opened upon them at long range; but they continued to advance until they had reached the middle of the clear ground, when they broke in confusion and retired to the rear. There was now a short pause in the rattle of musketry in our front. The artillery continued to send shot and shell over our heads, doing little harm. At this time my commissary sergeant, Robert Dott, whom I had sent to the front and left to ascertain if the enemy was in that direction, reported a heavy force approaching which overlapped my left, and there being no federal troops in sight in that direction, I reported the situation to Colonel Tuttle, commanding the brigade.

At my request he sent me two brass six-pounders which I immediately trained into position on the old road in front of my line so as to sweep the space to the left. Colonel Geddes, 8th Iowa, whose regiment was about 200 yards in our rear, now came to me and offered to place his men on my left, and to my great satisfaction I saw his fine regiment form on my left, making a slight angle to the rear across the ridge at the head of the hollow. The disposition of the forces was scarcely made when the enemy dashed furiously upon us. They were well received by the 8th and 15th [sic. 14th] Iowa, our two brass six-pounders (of the First Minnesota battery) sending canister down the old road, giving them an enfilading fire, which, with the steady work of the muskets of the 8th, 14th and 12th, soon sent them flying to the rear. Again and again they rallied and returned to attack, but they were repulsed every time and retired to cover.

This was the severest fighting of the day and seemed to fall most heavily upon the 8th Iowa, but this I imagine was due more to their exposed posi-

tion on the ridge above the hollow, while the 12th and 14th were partially protected by a slight rise of ground in front of them. However this may be, the 8th suffered very severely, and the 14th at this hour had met with very few casualties. The enemy vainly attempted to force us from our position and finally withdrew beyond musket range. Then, about 3:30 P. M., Colonel Geddes withdrew from the position he had held and I moved into his position, as the fighting seemed to be working around to our left. But, looking across the open space in front of the right of our brigade, I saw a body of the enemy moving around to the left of the field and approaching the position I formerly occupied. I immediately moved back, getting into position just in time to receive the attack and repulse them. Glancing toward the 12th Iowa I perceived it had faced about and was moving toward the rear, and still further down the line I saw the 7th and 2d had moved their position and were not in sight from where I was standing. I went to Colonel Woods, 12th Iowa, and asked him what it meant; he replied that they had received orders to about face and fall back, or something to that effect. Considering the order as also applying to me, or perhaps not being willing to be left alone, I faced about, too, and moved toward the top of the ridge in our rear.

On reaching the top of the ridge I perceived a crowd of men in federal uniforms approaching in great confusion. Moving obliquely to let them pass, my left flank (former right) became separated from the 12th. The disorganized column that had come upon us, instead of passing on, halted and made no attempt to form in line. After trying with my field and line officers to rally them, and finding I could do nothing, and the enemy who had driven them back having opened fire upon us, I left this disorganized mass and returned to my own men. In the meantime they continued to follow along the side of the ridge and were soon out of sight. . . . The troops I had repulsed were now approaching across the open ground, there being nothing to obstruct them. The heaviest artillery fire I ever heard opened from the timber beyond the field and timber, and the enemy who had driven in Prentiss opened in front of me. For the first time that day, I saw my men falling rapidly around me. This was no fault of mine; I had no choice of ground; the enemy were on all sides of me; no other federal troops were in sight. It was necessary to take prompt action. I ordered an advance, and the regiment gallantly responded to the order. We drove the enemy before us causing him to fall back rapidly. Hoping to reach the

road leading to the Landing, I moved by the flank along the face of the ridge, and as I did so perceived ahead of me among some tents another confused mass of federal blue, confederate gray, and a good deal more gray than blue.

Changing the direction of my column I moved rapidly down the face of the ridge and across the hollow, and ascending the rising ground, I ran into Gen. Chalmers' confederate brigade. After exchanging the compliments usual on such occasions with Maj. F. E. Whitfield, commanding the 9th Mississippi, and being informed by him that I was entirely surrounded (a fact that I was tolerably well satisfied of before) and that the rest of our troops had surrendered, he advised me to surrender. I accepted his advice, and turning to the boys who up to this time had preserved their line in good order, I gave the command: "Right, dress! shoulder arms! stack arms!" and that ended our fight for April 6th, 1862. . . .

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Col. W. B. Bell — 8th Iowa.<sup>20</sup>

. . . About 11 o'clock A. M. the regiment was ordered . . . to leave this position. . . . On arriving at the point designated, the regiment was placed in line of battle, facing a little south of west, the left wing of the regiment resting in, and the right wing a few rods in advance, of a road, and an abandoned road crossed our line at our center and angled somewhat to our right and front, with heavy timber all along our front and considerable underbrush and small timber, the line being at the crest of rising ground. Altogether it was a strong position. In this position we immediately engaged the enemy, and after about an hour's duration the enemy was driven back with heavy loss. About one o'clock P. M. General Prentiss placed a battery in position in front and near the center of the regiment, with instructions to defend it to the last. The fire of this battery made great havoc in the advancing columns of the enemy. It therefore became an object of great importance to them to gain possession of the battery. To this end they concentrated and hurled a heavy column on our position. Our men, lying down on the crest of the high ground, met the enemy and, after a severe and prolonged struggle, our men again had the satisfaction of driving back the enemy. Seemingly not discouraged, our brave enemy re-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18. Geddes, colonel of the 8th Iowa at Shiloh, was no longer living in 1887; therefore, this report was written by Col. W. B. Bell, who was captain of Co. C during the battle.

turned to the charge, with increased numbers and fury, and a struggle then commenced for the retention and possession of the battery, of a terrific character. The enemy charged upon our center to the very muzzles of our guns, and beat back our center about one rod and captured the guns and had taken them at least four or five rods when our men closed up our center and rushed forward and recaptured the guns and triumphantly sent them to the rear. In this third and grandest struggle the 8th ever made in battle, all the horses and all the men in this battery were killed, except possibly two men, and the commanding officer of the 8th, at this time, reported our loss in this charge at one hundred in killed and wounded.

Between 3 and 4 o'clock P. M. it became evident that the enemy were turning our right and left flanks rapidly. . . . The appearance of the enemy's lines at this time, having so far turned our flanks, that they might be compared to an "ox bow" with the operation of bending about two-thirds completed, with the bow to the south and the ends to the north. At this time the regiment changed front to the left. The new formation completed, our right now rests within a few rods of our late left and at right angles with our former line and facing nearly to the east. After remaining in this position for, say nearly half an hour, the enemy came pressing on and the regiment became hotly engaged. The enemy all the time could be seen pressing back our flanks. After having been engaged in this position for half an hour or more we were now attacked on three sides—front, right flank and rear—and the enemy's lines at this time might be compared to the "ox-bow," with the bend completed, the sides being parallel; or to a hornet's nest laid on the ground horizontally, with the apex to the south. Accepting this description of the ground held by our center at this particular time, I locate the 8th on the east side of the "hornet's nest," with its right resting near the apex, or south end, and as before stated, under fire from three directions. The position of the regiment was no longer tenable, and we retreated by the left flank, coming down a ravine, and still hoping to escape, but when the regiment arrived at a point near the camp of the 3rd Iowa Infantry it discovered that the "ox yoke" had been slipped onto the "bow," or that the main entrance to the "hornet's nest" was closed by great swarms of rebels, and that exit by the only route was cut off, and the regiment found itself, with many others, prisoners of war. From the foregoing the inference is unavoidable that the 8th was the last to *come away* from our advanced line.



I . . . quote from the report made to the Governor of Iowa, November 13th, 1862, by the late lamented Geddes, who commanded the regiment during the engagement: "To prevent annihilation it became absolutely necessary to leave a position which my regiment had held for nearly ten consecutive hours of severe fighting." Again I quote: "Myself and the major portion of my command were captured at six o'clock P. M., and I claim the honor for my regiment of being the last to leave the advance line of our army on the battlefield of Shiloh, on Sunday, the 6th day of April, 1862."

The question arises, if the foregoing quotations from the record are correct, why is it necessary to reproduce them or to refer in any way to the part taken by the regiment in that battle? I answer, the report was current all over the country, immediately after the battle, that the regiment with others was taken prisoners early in the morning in its camp and that the regiment was a part of Prentiss' Division. The report from which I have quoted was not made until seven months after the battle; the war still in progress, the report, it seems, did not arrest the attention of either army or the public, generally, and the impression yet prevails to some extent that the regiment was captured in the morning. . . .

DOCUMENT  
A LETTER FROM CEDAR FALLS  
*Edited by Thomas H. Smith\**

The following letter was found in the false bottom of a wooden box among various antique articles in Bucyrus, Ohio, on December 29, 1956. It was the property of the descendants of the Wise family who were early settlers of Bucyrus. The writer of the letter, Adam Wise, was one of eight children of John George and Charlotte (Moore) Wise of Ohio. The letter was written to a brother, William, who was in the furniture business in Ohio. The Wise family is representative of the people who, with a limited education, migrated to the West seeking to improve their economic condition. Adam Wise's letter is here reproduced exactly as it was written, with the misspellings typical of the mid-nineteenth century Midwest.

Arriving in America in the mid-eighteenth century, the Wise family settled in Goshoppen, Pennsylvania. They were of German origin, the name being spelled Weise and changed to Wise in 1799. From Pennsylvania, descendants of the first Wises can be traced to Hagerstown, Maryland, where one of them served in the Maryland Militia during the Revolutionary War.<sup>1</sup> In 1782 the family continued westward, moving to a farm on Wisconsin Creek in Lyken Valley, Pennsylvania. The Wises established themselves in Bucyrus, Ohio, in 1835. Their children moved into Lake County, near Crown Point, Indiana, in 1849, and finally into Iowa during the next decade.

Cedar Falls, in Black Hawk County, had a population of some 2,200 at about the time this letter was written. Originally founded in 1845 as Sturgis Falls, the town changed its name to Cedar Falls in 1849. A grist mill, begun in 1848, contributed to the growth of the town, which was also the county seat until 1855, when Waterloo became the center of county gov-

\*Thomas H. Smith is a student of history at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on a tombstone in Millersburg, Pennsylvania: "Adam Weise. Now Wise. Born Dec. 23, 1751 in Phil. Co. Pa. Died Oct. 5, 1833 in Millersburg Pa. aged 81 yrs. 9 mos. 12 ds. Revolutionary soldier from Hagerstown, Md. From 1776 to Dec. 1780 in Co's of Capt's Bell, Fackler & Ott in Battalion Com'd by Col. John Stull. Commiss'd Ensign Nov. 21, 1780."

ernment.<sup>2</sup> This letter reflects the way of life in wartime in a rural Iowa community, its economic problems, and the tensions of the Civil War.

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Cedarfalls December, 27th<sup>3</sup>

I Recieved your letter the 25th and Was glad to here from you I have writen to you & and [sic] never recieved an anser I thought you had goen in the army and now I will give you the histrey of this part of Iowa in the first plase I will tell you how I like it I like it better here then I did in indiani for the foling reson 1 it is helthy 2 thare is no swails and myer holes<sup>4</sup> 3 clear water in the river that when a person wants afish take your speer and go and pic out a big one Put your speer in to him hal him out I have speered som that was so hevy that when I went to rais them in the boat that thay was so hevy that thay borke my speer handel and dropt in the water and went off with my speer I would like to go speering with you some night next spring 4 thare is plenty of money cash for evry thing; good slaying when the snow comes it lays til spring it is snowing like vengins now thare is no mud and rain all winter here allways good roads I must stop riting for the old woman [Adam's wife, Ann] an children comens to crack hasel & wallnuts all the opgecion [sic. opposition] I have to this contry is the long winter and cold wether 5 month feating [sic. ?]

Now for the prise of produse wheat 80 (40;50) corn 60 (15;20) potatos 50 (15 to 20) oats 50 (10) the crops faild last year what makes them so dear this winter the [word evidently omitted] was good I put the prise of other years under this year so you can se when thare is good crops what the prise was [Prices he had inserted under present prices are here added in parentheses.] pork 5 to 6 pr hundred coffee 35 to 40 tea \$140c to 175 sugar 12-18 drid appels 10 cent gren appels 150 per bushel Butter 10 to 20 egg 5 to 25 we have no egg to sel now what makes them so dear now

<sup>2</sup> John C. Hartman (ed.), *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1915), 219, 273-5; *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), 433.

<sup>3</sup> Year undetermined, believed to be 1864 or 1865.

<sup>4</sup> Swales and mire holes are slight depressions in a prairie, usually marshy and rank with vegetation.

the prise of furniture comen tabel blackwalnut 5 dollars comen bedsted such as you sold for 3 cost here  $6\frac{1}{2}$  7 to tel the truth of it such furniture as thay have here you could not sel thare atall the prise of lumber I do not know for I did not think to inquire but I think walnut lumber is 20 dol baswood & oak & Butter nut is 12 to 15 hard maple about the same thare is all kind of timber here except yelow poplar & sycamore & beech if you want to come out this winter and See for I think if you was out here you could git along fine for it would be a good plase for your traid if you come out here with 12 or 15 hundred you can buy a small farm and house and lot in town and you can work at your traid and I could work your farm for I would reather be on a farme then be in the plase I am now I am clerkin in a hole-sall and retall grocry store not saloon as thay cald grocry in Ohio

you want to know about John Wisers & Borders<sup>5</sup> John was down her[e] 2 weeks gon and stayed all nite thay was all well Border was here night before last and their was all well except Samuel he has the comsontion and thay give him up the old man did not no whether he would be alife til he got bachome he is nothing but skin and boon he sais John Boys are all in the army except John; Sam he is ded he died in the army marton is sick in the hospitel for along time John talks of goon to fech him home I do not no whare ben is the last we herd from him he was down helping grant kiling rebels gorges 2 boys ar in the army and I wold be thare to if thay would took me you know what ails me I am in the fix fatter was but I can help to kil dam copper heds here I belong to the home gards here thare is some copper hed here but they dasent speek or grunt thay dasent read thare papers in the streets here if thay have a meting thay must kep it stil for if we find it out thay git routet in a hurry when thay go to the post-office and git a paper thay must not hold it out long but put it in thare pockit and go home and read it if thay open it in public it is tore in peces

I most for got to tel you that we are all well for we never much sick som bely ake and toos ake the boys cuts thare toes and fingers and girls burn their fingers and baby cry for to be on the big rocen chair and hold lisa dol and the fire is al did out and ann is gen to bed and I mus go to for so I can git up arly Ann wants to no whether you hav al girls nane

<sup>5</sup> John Wise was a brother of Adam and William Wise. "Border" may have been the husband of one of the Wise sisters.



mata [sic. ?] or what all thar nanes are so good Night rite sune do not  
for git Adam Wise Cedarfals Iowa

Viola Evoline is asleep she wants to send a feu lines to you[r] girl but  
never mind I wil rite what she wants to say She read in the 5 redar rites  
sifers & gogrefy

## HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### *State Historical Society of Iowa*

During the months of April, May, and June, 1957, the Society added 143 new members to its rolls.

Two hundred members of the Society took part in the four Mississippi River cruises aboard the *Addie May* in June. The cruises ran between Keokuk and Nauvoo and included guided tours of the two towns.

The fiftieth biennial business meeting of the Society was held June 24 at the Lucas Home in Iowa City. Some 50 members of the Society attended. Superintendent William J. Petersen made his biennial report to the members, which is published in this issue of the JOURNAL. The nine members of the Board of Curators elected by the Society were re-elected with the exception of Dr. L. H. Kornder of Davenport, who asked to be retired. Dr. Kornder's place on the Board was taken by Frank C. Allen of North English.

Two Amana tours were held during the summer. In May forty members of the Legislative Ladies League and in June 175 members of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs visited the colonies.

#### SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

April 12-13	Attended Iowa Press Association meeting in Des Moines.
April 16	Attended O. D. Collis' eightieth birthday at Clinton.
April 23	Spoke at state meeting of the Tri-T in Newton.
May 2	Conducted Iowa Legislative Ladies League on their third biennial tour of the Amana Colonies.
May 3-4	Attended Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Lincoln, Nebraska.
May 7, 8, 9	Attended state meeting of Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs at Boone.
May 8	Conference at Des Moines with Burdette Higgins on Centennial Building.

- May 10 Spoke to newly-organized Butler County Historical Society at Allison.
- May 11 Conferred with General Hanford MacNider in Mason City.
- May 21 Spoke at Manning Rotary Club and delivered Commencement address at Manning High School.
- May 23 Commencement address at Glidden.
- May 24 Commencement address at Coon Rapids.
- May 28 Commencement address at North English.
- May 29 Commencement address at Corning.
- June 12 Conducted tour of Amana Colonies for Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.
- June 15, 16 Historical tour of Keokuk and Nauvoo and steamboat cruise on *Addie May*.
- June 20 Convocation address at summer session of University of Dubuque.
- June 24 Report at Biennial meeting of State Historical Society in Iowa City.
- June 29-30 Historical tour of Keokuk and Nauvoo and steamboat cruises on *Addie May*.
- July 9 Addressed convocation, Luther College, Decorah.

### *Iowa Historical Activities*

The thirty-fifth annual Conference of the Teachers of History and the Social Studies was held at the State University of Iowa, April 12-13, 1957, under the sponsorship of the department of history, the College of Education, and the Graduate College. John M. Blum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology spoke on "Cultural Nationalism and a National Culture"; Boyd C. Shafer, secretary of the American Historical Association, read a paper on "Reflections on Nationalism"; and Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin spoke on "The Medieval Origin of the National State." The session on Saturday morning, April 13, was devoted to a discussion of "The Organization and Subject Matter of the World History Course," with remarks by Richard S. Westfall, J. F. Gilliam, and Nicholas V. Riasanovsky of the University of Iowa, and Arthur Eady of Indianola High School.

Several county historical societies and other local groups have sponsored

the establishment of historical museums in their areas. In McGregor, the historical museum sponsored by the McGregor Historical Society is under the direction of the president of the Society, Lena D. Myers. In Osceola County, the Historical Society helped to dedicate the new Albert W. McCallum museum in the city park at Sibley. At Webster City, the park board maintains a pioneer cabin, the first built in Webster City, which is filled with relics of the past, including utensils used by the pioneer residents of the county. LeClaire, once the home of William F. Cody, has opened a Buffalo Bill Museum containing relics of Buffalo Bill and of the riverboat era.

A replica of the blacksmith shop of Herbert Hoover's father has been added to the site of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace at West Branch. The blacksmith shop was dedicated on June 20, 1957, and Admiral Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, made the principal address.

In Bentonsport, the work of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert K. Redhead in restoring the Mason House, once a tavern and inn in the 1850's, and opening it as a museum has inspired others to take up the work of preserving this old Des Moines River town. A Bentonsport Improvement Association is working to preserve other village landmarks. The Presbyterian Church and the Carter House, a white stone building built by the Mormons, are owned by the Association. Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Mitchell, formerly of Utah, have bought the Greef house and are furnishing it with early Victorian pieces. The Redheads also own the former Bentonsport post office, which adjoins the Mason House, and have converted it into a general store. The Mason House is now open seven days a week as a museum.

Many Iowa towns celebrated centennials during the summer months of 1957. In June: Webster City, Winthrop, Newhall, and Exira; in July: Lowden, Coggon, Early; in August, the Mesquakie Indians of Tama observed their 100th anniversary. Williamsburg will hold a centennial August 26-28, and Newton's celebration will start on August 14. Corning's centennial begins on September 14.

At the first meeting of the new Butler County Historical Society the following officers were elected: Mrs. C. H. Riggert, president; Ray Tindall, vice-president; Mrs. Gomer Evans, secretary; C. L. Yost, treasurer; and



Mrs. W. C. Shepard, Mrs. Glen Thompson, Mrs. Edwin Pfaltzgraff, Mrs. John Lang, Mrs. Cliff Fischer, Miss Nettie Van Loh, and Miss Sylvia Martin, directors.

At the April meeting of the Tama County Historical Society, all the officers were re-elected. President is Roy L. Shaffer; vice-president, W. H. Hufford; secretary-treasurer, H. P. Giger. Trustees of the Society are Mrs. W. G. MacMartin, Mrs. C. W. Maplethorpe, Sr., and Mrs. H. P. Giger.

In March the Marion County Historical Society elected C. B. Campbell as president; Mrs. Lillian Vance, vice-president; Mrs. Wilhelmina Houser, secretary; Mrs. Bess Huggman, treasurer; Jack Belknap, curator; Bill Palmer, chairman of historical sites; and Mrs. Iva Roorda, publicity chairman.

The following officers were elected at the May meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society: Dr. F. A. Gillett, president; Jess Mattix, vice-president; E. L. Butler, treasurer; Mrs. Stillman Clark, historian; Stillman Clark, curator; and F. A. Seibert, Mike Stitely, Mrs. Van Reiman, and Gerald Gay, directors.

Mrs. W. E. Berthrong was re-elected president of the Marshall County Historical Society at its July meeting. Other officers are Dan Ward, vice-president; Miss Genevieve Coates, secretary; and Floyd Hancock, treasurer. Mrs. A. A. Piper and Mrs. E. J. Paul were named to the board for three-year terms.

All the officers of the Wayne County Historical Society were re-elected at the July meeting. They are Miss Amy Robertson, president; Mrs. Lawrence Fry, vice-president; Miss Altha Green, secretary; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; and Roy Grimes, curator.

## HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

### *Articles*

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES IN MIDWESTERN HISTORICAL JOURNALS

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##### *Antislavery*

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##### *Archaeology*

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##### *Automobiles*

"Some Effects of the Introduction of the Automobile on Highways and Land Values in Nebraska," by Clinton Warne, *Nebraska History*, March, 1957.

##### *Biography*

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- "Letters of John Traub, Twenty-ninth Infantry," ed. by Paul Fatout, *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1957.
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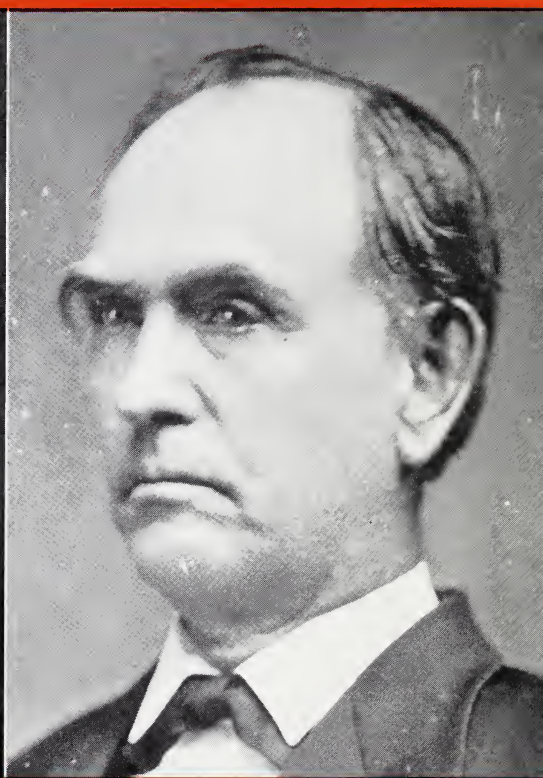
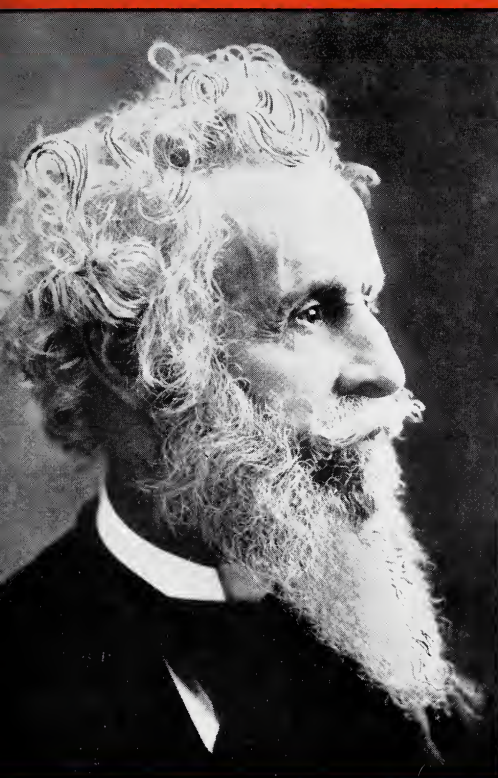
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# IOWA

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## COVER

Iowa's first two United States Senators. *Left:* George Wallace Jones, who served from 1848 to 1859. *Right:* Augustus Caesar Dodge, who served from 1848 to 1855.

# PROSLAVERY SENTIMENT IN IOWA

1838-1861

By Joel H. Silbey\*

In the early period of Iowa's history there was widespread support among the people for the institution of Negro slavery. Actually, Iowa's antebellum history can be divided into three different eras. During the first period, lasting until about 1846, great support of slavery existed; in the second period, lasting until 1854, the state underwent a transition; in the final period Iowa took its place in the roster of antislavery states. This gradually changing opinion was due in the main to the makeup of the population within the state. Several streams of immigration flowed into Iowa, coming from different sections of the country at different times. As a result, the preponderant element in the state's population changed. Because of the intimate relationship between proslavery sentiment and the composition of the population, it is necessary to understand first how and by whom Iowa was settled.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, cotton planters pushed their way into the interior counties of the South in search of fresh lands. For this and other reasons, many of the small farmers of those counties could not compete with the great slaveholders and either sold out or abandoned their property. Thereupon they, too, set out in a quest for new lands. From the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland, they moved into Kentucky and Tennessee. They halted there for a time and then proceeded North and West via the Mississippi River system into the lands later to comprise Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa.<sup>1</sup>

In June, 1833, the area above the confluence of the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, known as the Iowa District, was thrown open to settlement

\*Joel H. Silbey is a doctoral candidate in the department of history at the State University of Iowa.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850* (New York, 1935), 261-2; and *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829* (New York, 1906), 54-5, 77; Henry Clyde Hubbard, "'Pro-Southern' Influences in the Free West, 1840-1865," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 20:46 (June, 1933).

by the national government, and Southerners began entering in droves. The Iowa District, extensively publicized in the South by travelers and army officers who had been stationed there, was considered to be one of the finest domains for farming in the whole Mississippi Valley. Steamboats from the South unloaded their passengers at such a port as Keokuk, while many farmers from Missouri moved north into the newly opened district. Within three years the Iowa District received over 10,000 settlers.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of this influx, Iowa took on the characteristics of a Southern community. Although most of the early settlers from the South were small farmers, there were also some sons of wealthy Southern families who sought greater opportunities for economic advancement in Iowa. This group furnished much of the practical leadership during the early days. Southern-born members formed the largest bloc in the Iowa delegation to the first Wisconsin territorial legislature (while Iowa was a part of Wisconsin Territory), and they predominated in the first legislature of Iowa Territory.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the early settlers in Iowa were accustomed to the institution of slavery and were quite willing to accept it as properly belonging wherever they were. Some of the settlers even brought a few slaves with them. The exact number of these, however, is unknown.<sup>4</sup> Most of the slaves were used as household servants because of a scarcity of such workers. They were well distributed throughout the territory, some being located as far north as Dubuque.<sup>5</sup> Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones,

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately it is impossible to know how many of these were Southern-born, as the census of 1840 does not list nativities. Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1921), 130; Julia Anne Browning, "The Frontier Settlements of the Early Thirties" (M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1933), 55; Frank I. Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?" *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 7:373, 452-6 (April, July, 1906).

<sup>3</sup> Dubuque *Daily Miners' Express*, Nov. 19, 1853; Herbert Quick, *One Man's Life* (Indianapolis, 1925), 68; speech of A. C. Dodge, Feb. 24, 1853, *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 202-205; John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Element in the Leadership of the Old Northwest," *Journal of Southern History*, 1:186 (May, 1935); Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers?" 459.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, *United States, 1830-1850*, 210-17; Leola Nelson Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 46:6 (January, 1948), says there were but a few slaves brought in, but William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," *American Historical Review*, 16:775 (July, 1911), says there were thousands of slaves in Iowa. The true figure undoubtedly lies closer to the Bergmann estimate.

<sup>5</sup> James Wilson Grimes, "To the People of Iowa," in William Salter, *Life of James W. Grimes . . .* (New York, 1876), 47.

Iowa's first two United States Senators, both owned slaves in the early period. At one time Dodge asserted in the United States Senate that his father had taken slaves into Wisconsin in open violation of the Ordinance of 1787 and that he himself had been reared by a Negro "mammy."<sup>6</sup> Many less distinguished settlers moved into the extreme Southern portion of Iowa in the belief that they were going into the slave state of Missouri. They held slaves in complete ignorance of the fact that they were living in an area closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise of 1820.<sup>7</sup> In any event, the census of 1840 shows that there were sixteen slaves in Iowa, six males and ten females. How many were present earlier is a matter of conjecture. But in 1840 there were 172 free Negroes in Iowa, and it is probable that most of these were slaves who had been freed.<sup>8</sup>

Immigration into Iowa continued at a rapid pace. The immigrants came from all over the Union now, from Pennsylvania, from Ohio, from New York, from New England, as well as from the South. Foreigners also began to arrive in profusion, so that by 1849 the population of Iowa had grown to 154,573.<sup>9</sup> The pattern of immigration had changed radically. Overland travel was now as practicable as river travel, and Easterners and foreigners were arriving in greater numbers than Southerners. Despite this, the Southern elements maintained their leadership of territorial affairs all through this period of rapid settlement. In the House of Representatives of the fourth territorial legislature, they held sixteen seats out of a total of twenty-six and in the two constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846, Southerners formed the largest single bloc of delegates present.<sup>10</sup> But this state of affairs could not last. Railroads, land companies, and newspapers in the eastern United States advertised the attractions of the state's fertile prairies. As a result, Iowa became an "El Dorado" to economically hard-

<sup>6</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 381; *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 22, 1854.

<sup>7</sup> David Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1952), 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Sixth Census . . . United States* (Washington, 1841), 468.

<sup>9</sup> *Burlington Iowa Territorial Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1838; Mar. 31, 1839; *Davenport Gazette*, May 5, 1842; *Bloomington Herald*, Nov. 11, 1843; Apr. 20, 1844; Sept. 18, 1847; *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), 196-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, Jan. 29, 1842; Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846 . . .* (Iowa City, 1900), 405-410, 413-15.



pressed Easterners who filled up the approaches to the state with their wagons.<sup>11</sup>

These newer settlers, hating slavery and the South, were more than a match for the older settlers and soon overwhelmed them by sheer numbers. The new settlers took over the political control of the state through the Republican party in the mid-1850's and kept it. But for the first twenty years of Iowa's history, she was Southern in outlook and action and gave aid and comfort to the proponents of slavery in the United States. This proslavery sentiment had developed in the first days of Iowa's history and stayed until the Civil War.

Although many of the people of the Iowa District had been driven from their homes by the expansion of the slave-plantation system, it seemed that they were still, with few exceptions, in favor of slavery. To them, the institution was the only "natural and right" condition for Negroes, and as a consequence they defended slavery throughout the territorial period. In the year 1837 the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, published at Burlington, Iowa, unleashed an attack on Elijah Lovejoy, the controversial abolitionist leader. The *Gazette* warned Lovejoy and his followers that their "impertinent interference" in matters of which they were profoundly ignorant was extremely dangerous to the future well-being of the United States. Furthermore, since there was a "sound spirit" in regard to abolition in both Illinois and Iowa, their efforts would be unrewarded there. To the *Gazette* this "sound spirit" was a hatred of abolitionism and an acceptance of the institution of slavery.<sup>12</sup>

There were two reasons for this proslavery attitude. The first was the fear of the economic competition that might come from free Negroes with the consequent lowering of white wages. This, in turn might lead to social equality for the Negroes and open the way for the amalgamation of the races, an abhorrent thought to those Iowans who had been reared in a land where Negroes were considered inferior and who sincerely believed

<sup>11</sup> Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1849; May 22, 1850; Oct. 1, 1853; Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 12, Nov. 1, 1849; Iowa City *Republican*, Oct. 24, 31, 1849.

<sup>12</sup> Burlington *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, Oct. 5, 19, 1837. A preacher who was born in Ohio of Virginian parents said of himself and his contemporaries who pioneered with him in Iowa, "We hated an abolitionist as we hated a nigger." Quoted in Frank I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 8:199 (October, 1907).

that the colored man was of a lower order. Any equalizing of the status between the two races was not to be tolerated.<sup>13</sup>

The second reason why Iowans defended slavery was their alleged paternalistic concern for the Negro's own good. Emancipation of the Negroes, they claimed, only resulted in injury to both races, since freedmen were unable to care for themselves and were constantly in trouble. Jails and poor houses were filled with such freedmen, they claimed, and Negroes were better kept in slavery, where they at least were cared for.<sup>14</sup>

The dangers which Iowans saw in emancipation led them to demand that the political issue of slavery be dropped on local, state, and national levels. Constant agitation of the issue could weaken the bonds of union and leave the western states at the mercies of the two opposing sections. The activities of the abolitionists in the Northern states were thus sources of growing anxiety, and Iowa newspapers utilized every opportunity to assail the abolitionists and warn them against carrying their activities into Iowa. One editor declared, "we are entirely Southern in our feelings, and hold that every attempt to agitate the abolition of slavery that does not come from the slaveholders themselves is an unwarrantable interference in their domestic concerns, and should receive unqualified condemnation."<sup>15</sup> All in all, "abolitionist" became a term of derision and derogation used by both political parties, since the majority of Whigs hated the abolitionist as much as did the Democrats. So bitter was the feeling in this regard that for a long time most Iowans made no distinction between moderate antislavery and extreme abolitionism. Fearing the results of constant agitation of the slavery issue, they opposed even the mildest antislavery measures.

By 1838 a measure to grant Iowa territorial status was introduced into Congress, but was opposed by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who declared that he would not "consent to the formation of a new Territory which in a few years would become a powerful abolition State." George W. Jones, then the delegate from Wisconsin Territory, assured Calhoun that Iowans hated abolitionism as much as any Southerner, but Calhoun replied, with prophetic insight, that when the people of New

<sup>13</sup> *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, quoted in *Iowa City Standard*, Oct. 10, 1844; Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> *Burlington Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, Oct. 5, 26, 1837.

<sup>15</sup> *Burlington Iowa Territorial Gazette*, June 29, 1839. See also *Bloomington Herald*, Nov. 10, 1843; *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, Oct. 19, 1844.

England, New York, and the Western Reserve began to enter Iowa it would become "the strongest abolition State in the Union." Calhoun's opposition was so strong that Jones finally had to resort to trickery to have the Iowa bill enacted while the South Carolina Senator was absent.<sup>16</sup>

Political life in the new Territory began almost at once with the Democratic party in control. This was due to the fact that the counties of southern Iowa, which were the first ones settled, were the main Democratic strongholds and contained twice as many people as the rest of the territory.<sup>17</sup> In the north, only Dubuque County showed the same Democratic consistency. The Whig party, for its part, was smaller and less active than the Democratic. It contained whatever antislavery sentiment existed during the territorial years and thus earned the title, "nigger party." The sincerity of the party's position was questioned by one editor who accused the Whigs of being interested only in the abolitionist vote centered in four counties in the southeastern corner of Iowa. These were settled partly by Quakers and Danes who not only established an underground railroad but also made Missouri slave catchers unwelcome.<sup>18</sup>

The Democratic party in Iowa asserted its hostility to antislavery sentiment repeatedly in party conventions. In its 1840 convention it quoted with approval Martin Van Buren's statement that he was the "inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia," and that he was determined "to resist the slightest interference with it in the states" where it existed.<sup>19</sup> Not content with that, the legislatures and the two constitutional conventions of the territorial period discussed ways and means of excluding free Negroes from Iowa. The result was a series of anti-Negro and pro-Southern enactments that gave Iowa the outward appearance of a Southern state. For example, the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory enacted a law declaring that after April 1, 1839, Negroes and mulattoes could not live within Iowa Territory unless they could show a certificate of actual freedom. If they had such a certificate they were to be placed under a bond of

<sup>16</sup> John C. Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912), 127-30.

<sup>17</sup> *Iowa . . . Census, 1836-1880*, 196.

<sup>18</sup> Burlington *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, June 1, 1844; Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa," 33.

<sup>19</sup> David C. Mott, "Iowa Political Conventions and Platforms," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 14:37-8 (July, 1923).

\$500. If they could not post this sum, they were to be hired out by the county commissioners "for the best price in cash."<sup>20</sup> The high cost of this bond and the threat of virtual enslavement was tantamount to driving Negroes from the Territory.

The convention which met at Iowa City in 1844 to draw up a state constitution furnished the next occasion for a discussion of anti-Negro legislation. Several petitions were presented asking that the rights of citizens, including the right to vote, be granted to Negroes. These petitions were referred to a committee for study. This committee later reported against accepting the ideas embodied in the petitions because it feared dangerous agitation would result from the granting of such rights. Still later, Francis Gehon, a native of Tennessee, moved that the convention make sure that no petitions calling for Negro suffrage be entertained by a future state legislature. He said that the presenting of these petitions was an evil that should be kept out of Iowa, as such ideas were dangerous to the permanency of the Union.<sup>21</sup> The desire to end all agitation on the dangerous subject met with approval both in and out of the convention.<sup>22</sup>

Another resolution offered at the convention asked that a committee investigate the expediency of excluding all "persons of color" from the state. This was laid on the table in favor of another which directed the legislature to pass laws as soon as possible to prevent the settlement of Negroes and mulattoes within its jurisdiction. Comments were heard to the effect that free Negroes must be kept out of Iowa at all costs. The people were said to desire a policy that would permit Negroes in Iowa only as slaves, not as free men. An attempt to write this into the constitution as a provision compelling the legislature to exclude Negroes failed only because it was asserted that it might hinder Iowa's entry into the Union. The constitution as finally written contained certain restrictive provisions against Negroes that prevented them from voting, serving in the state legislature, or in the state militia. These provisions were continued in the Constitution of 1846 under which Iowa entered the Union.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 147.

<sup>21</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates*, 11, 26, 42, 123.

<sup>22</sup> Iowa City *Capital Reporter*, Oct. 19, 1844.

<sup>23</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Fragments of the Debates*, 33, 66, 155-6; Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa* (3 vols., Iowa City, 1897-1901), 1:153, 155, 164, 194, 195, 204.



When the Constitution of 1844 was submitted to Congress for approval it became a pawn in the continuing struggle for advantage between North and South. In order to have more territory available for the creation of free states, Northern Congressmen cut Iowa's boundaries. The angered people of Iowa refused to accept this amendment.<sup>24</sup> Iowa's delegate to Congress, A. C. Dodge, returned to explain to his constituents what had happened. He fixed the blame for the situation squarely on Northern Congressmen who, he said, had a "fixed determination" to disregard Iowa's wishes on the boundary matter and to curtail them as the North saw fit. Southern Congressmen, he pointed out, had not voted against the boundaries desired by the Iowans, further proof, as far as he was concerned, that the interests of the people of Iowa were with the South.<sup>25</sup>

The interests that Dodge referred to were based upon common ideals and a common heritage. They were also based upon economic ties. Iowa depended largely upon the Mississippi River to get her produce to market. And as long as this was true, she was of necessity allied with the slave states that controlled the river.<sup>26</sup> This economic dependence certainly played its part in shaping political opinion in Iowa concerning the South and slavery. Many Iowa politicians became known as "doughfaces" — Northern men with Southern principles. Few of them, however, minded this derogatory epithet, for they realized how much their position in the Union depended on the South. Dodge emphasized this before Congress on several occasions.<sup>27</sup>

The South, too, realized that it had a potent ally in Iowa as well as in the other Northern states dependent upon the Mississippi River as their main highway to outside markets. In an effort to cement this alliance, a commercial convention was called to meet at Memphis, Tennessee, in late 1845. Eleven slave states were joined by delegates from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Pennsylvania. The similarities of interests of the attending states

<sup>24</sup> The full story can be followed in *Niles' National Register*, Feb. 22, Apr. 5, 19, May 3, July 19, Aug. 23, Sept. 13, Nov. 29, 1845.

<sup>25</sup> William Salter, "Augustus C. Dodge," *Iowa Historical Record*, 3:403 (January, 1887); *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, Oct. 22, 1845.

<sup>26</sup> *Bloomington Herald*, June 3, 1842.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, his speech of Feb. 22, 1851, *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 310-11.

and the necessity for future unified planning were stressed.<sup>28</sup> But the Mississippi River was about to lose its position in the economic life of the West. Eastern railroads were pushing out from the Atlantic seaboard and bringing Eastern markets closer to Western produce. However, Iowa's delegates continued to look South as they pushed for a north-south railroad connecting Dubuque and Keokuk.<sup>29</sup>

Iowa became a state of the Union in 1846, when her boundary dispute was finally settled. Almost immediately she was plunged into national politics that would destroy her old ties and allow a group with different convictions to overthrow her old leaders. But during her eight-year territorial history a majority of her people clearly cast their lot with the South. They permitted slaves in their midst, excluded and restricted free Negroes, denounced abolitionists, and sought ways to improve communications with the South. Obviously Iowans were conscious of their Southern heritage, and to bolster this consciousness Iowa's representatives in Congress aided the South in speech and vote.

The national political scene from 1846 to 1854 was set against the backdrop of an increasingly tense sectional struggle over the issue of slavery expansion. North stood against South for control of the territories seized from Mexico. The attempts of one section or the other to assert authority over the new lands led to bitter controversy. The period began with the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso and ended with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Between these two events the Free Soil election of 1848, the Compromise of 1850, and the Finality Campaign of 1852 stood out as milestones in the ever growing crisis over slavery expansion.

In these years, Iowa's politics reflected the national turmoil. Immediately upon gaining statehood, Iowa sent Shepherd Leffler, a native Virginian, and Serranus C. Hastings, a New Yorker by birth, to represent her in the lower house of Congress. Due to political maneuvering within the state, Iowa remained unrepresented in the Senate until late in 1848, when the state legislature at last elected George Wallace Jones and Augustus Caesar Dodge as Iowa's first United States Senators.<sup>30</sup>

Jones was born in Vincennes, Indiana, among slaveholding farmers who

<sup>28</sup> Herbert Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions* (Baltimore, 1930), 53-69; *Niles' National Register*, Nov. 29, Dec. 6, 1845.

<sup>29</sup> *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, Aug. 25, 1847.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1848.

were attempting to have slavery legalized there. Jones's father was one of the leaders of this movement and had brought his son up in the Southern milieu. The younger Jones attended Kentucky's Transylvania University, where he met many who were to influence his later actions. Such men as David Atchison and Jefferson Davis were friends of his college days, and Davis remained a close friend throughout Jones's life. Years afterward Jones was to tell James Buchanan that he held "no secrets from Mr. Davis." With such deep attachment to Southerners, Jones learned to hate abolitionism and glorify the South as much as any man born in that section, and so he admitted.<sup>31</sup>

Augustus Caesar Dodge was born in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and later moved to Galena, Illinois, and then to Burlington, Iowa, where he entered politics. Dodge, like Jones, absorbed much of Southern culture and many Southern views during his army service and his experience in Congress. It was said that he "carried with him much of southern manners."<sup>32</sup> He was an extremely popular political figure in his state and was naturally elected to the Senate.

Both Iowa Senators, then, had Southern backgrounds, were amenable to Southern influences, and might be expected to support the South against the North. Dodge and Jones began their senatorial careers when the Wilmot Proviso occupied the center of the national stage. In 1846 Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania had moved that, in the future, slavery should not be allowed to exist in any of the territory acquired from Mexico.<sup>33</sup> This Proviso destroyed Democratic hopes that slavery would never become an issue in national politics. Although the Iowa Democratic leaders endeavored to play down the Proviso, the Whigs insisted that it was a "test question between the slave and non-slave holding states, or rather between the friends of the Union and nullifiers."<sup>34</sup> Dodge and Jones were attacked for being against the Proviso and for holding "the extreme Southern position" on all questions. Congressman Leffler was also assailed for his anti-Proviso position. The Whigs accused the Iowa legislature of the "meanest kind of neutrality" for refusing to compel its con-

<sup>31</sup> Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 65-6, 188, 202.

<sup>32</sup> Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, 1916), 83.

<sup>33</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 1217.

<sup>34</sup> *Iowa City Standard*, July 28, 1847.

gressional leaders to vote for the Proviso, thereby putting the state in the position of "cringing" to the South on the issue.<sup>35</sup>

The Democratic newspapers, in their turn, defended the delegation and denounced the Whig agitation. The Proviso was characterized as time-wasting and ridiculous and of no use except to stir up old antagonisms that were best forgotten. It was considered dangerous because it would destroy the balance between the North and South and was actually an appeal for bloodshed.<sup>36</sup>

All indications are that the majority of the people of Iowa regarded the Wilmot Proviso as an unnecessary and dangerous restriction and were willing to follow the lead of the Democratic party. There were some elements of dissent, but in this early period these elements still comprised a definite minority of the population. In no way did the legislature take any stand in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and Iowa was the only free state not to do so. The original Southern settlers still controlled the state, and they followed the lead of the Democratic party on national issues. But at the same time there was the beginning of a subtle change in Iowa. Cognizant of the shifting population, the proslavery elements had gone on the defensive and sought to soothe both old and new elements in the state. The answer seemed to lie in playing down the issue of slavery completely. However, the force of circumstance was against this.

The 1848 presidential election gave birth to the Free Soil party, whose main tenet was the Wilmot Proviso. The party nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams as its candidates. Iowa Democrats saw in this movement a resurgence of abolitionism and characterized the candidates as the "free nigger" ticket intent on destroying the Democratic party.<sup>37</sup> Although the Free Soilers received only 1,100 votes in Iowa, they did bring the slavery issue into the open for all to see, and they established a newspaper at Mount Pleasant, *The Iowa Freeman*, that worked overtime to publicize their cause.<sup>38</sup> The result of this was that Iowans

<sup>35</sup> Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 4, 25, Feb. 22, 1849; Feb. 7, 1850; Bloomington *Herald*, Feb. 20, 1849.

<sup>36</sup> Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, June 13, 1849; Muscatine *Democratic Enquirer*, Feb. 10, 1849; Iowa City *Capital Reporter*, Mar. 17, 24, Dec. 29, 1847; Mar. 8, Aug. 9, 1848; Jan. 31, Feb. 21, 1849.

<sup>37</sup> Iowa City *Capital Reporter*, Aug. 9, 23, Sept. 6, Oct. 4, 11, 1848.

<sup>38</sup> Bloomington *Herald*, Dec. 2, 1848; Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), 323.



could no longer ignore the slavery issue, a fact that became apparent with the crisis of 1850.

The Thirty-first Congress, which convened in December, 1849, was to be the battleground for the sectional struggle over the Mexican cession. Iowa newspapers took immediate interest in the contest. The Democratic press still wanted no agitation on the slavery issue, for this would merely produce irresponsible discussions on the value of the Union. The papers felt that the whole issue was "nonsense," since slavery could never flourish in California and New Mexico. On the other hand, the leading Whig newspapers in Iowa at once took a belligerent attitude toward the South for its opposition to the admission of California as a free state, and warned Northern Congressmen that no compromise was to be allowed on the issue.<sup>39</sup>

In Congress, Henry Clay brought forward a series of compromise measures in an effort to settle the outstanding problems connected with slavery. The measures provided for the entrance of California into the Union as a free state, the organization of the territories of Utah and New Mexico with no mention of slavery, the abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a law to recapture fugitive slaves.<sup>40</sup>

The Iowans in Congress were relieved by the introduction of Clay's compromise plan. As they declared, they could both work for the Union and repel abolitionism through the compromise. Dodge declared that the plan was the basis for restoring good feeling both in Congress and in the nation. His avowal was generally supported by both Whigs and Democrats in Iowa. One influential Whig newspaper declared that Dodge was right on the "abstract question of the Union" and should be followed. The citizens of Iowa, reported another, should overlook the little evil that may come from the bill and be satisfied with the settlement of these long-vexed questions.<sup>41</sup> From Democratic party conventions in the state came a series of resolutions favoring the compromise measures. At the same time, however, other resolutions condemning the compromise bills, especially the one regulating fugitive slaves, arrived in Washington. But these latter reso-

<sup>39</sup> *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, June 9, 1849; *Iowa City Republican*, Dec. 5, 1849; May 15, 1850.

<sup>40</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 244-7.

<sup>41</sup> *Muscatine Democratic Enquirer*, May 30, 1850; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 14, 1850.

lutions were in the minority. Most Iowans seemed willing to accept the compromise in order to end the three years of agitation on the subject of Negro slavery.<sup>42</sup>

Fortified by these endorsements, Dodge and Jones entered into the battle for the compromise measures wholeheartedly. They pointed out that Iowa supported the compromise, since only a few citizens condemned their course, and that Iowans were opposed to any "ism" which was calculated to "distract and divide the American Democracy." As proof of this, Jones mentioned that the Iowa legislature had refused to instruct him and his colleague to vote for the Wilmot Proviso, an act of "wisdom . . . and a high compliment" to them. The two Iowa Senators assailed extremists in both sections but reserved their bitterest attacks for the abolitionists and pro-Wilmot Proviso men, those "engines of demagogism" who attempted to subvert the sacred rights of Americans. They pledged that they would forever be opposed to the "fell spirit of abolitionism" which was really imbued with "the spirit of treason" and therefore it was right for the South to oppose it.<sup>43</sup>

Despite some adverse reactions from a segment of the Whig press to this type of comment, Senator Dodge continued in the same vein. He declared that he would do so even if the Northern press denounced him as proslavery, and he continued to snipe at Free Soilers, abolitionists, and the Wilmot Proviso whenever the opportunity presented itself.<sup>44</sup> When the various compromise measures were voted upon, Dodge and Jones consistently voted with the South. They were the only Northern Senators, except for Daniel Sturgeon of Pennsylvania, to vote for the engrossment of the Fugitive Slave Bill prior to final passage.<sup>45</sup>

By September, 1850, the various compromise measures had passed both houses and had become the law of the land. In Iowa the reaction was one of relief that the great struggle was over. A letter to the *Iowa City Republican* summed up the general feeling:

Upon the whole, a great work has been accomplished, and, I do not regret that the matter is settled. . . . I trust the peace of the country is restored, and that the response for which the nation

<sup>42</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1389, Appendix, 1716; Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, June 13, 1850.

<sup>43</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1085-6, 1333, Appendix, 910, 1716.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1085-6, 1146-8, 1452, Appendix, 1345.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1239, 1481, 1555, 1660.

pants may forever banish the idea of self-destruction; that dissolution, secession, revolution, and nullification, may be erased from the mind of man, or only remembered to be guarded against.<sup>46</sup>

The Fugitive Slave Act, however, soon became the subject of some adverse comment in Iowa, although there was an active defense of the act, too. One paper called it "the most important equitable and just of the whole seven forming the Compromise," and suggested that any who wished to defy the law would be better off emigrating to Liberia.<sup>47</sup> Official sanction was given to the law by two Iowa Governors when they requested obedience to federal laws by all citizens.<sup>48</sup> Even the Whig press upheld the Fugitive Slave Law. They declared that it was necessary for peace and that the South, feeling crushed by the overwhelming weight of the North, must be given every assurance that the people would obey the law and the Constitution. To buttress this, the Whigs pointed out that when Christ reigned on earth he had made no declaration against slavery. Indeed, he had told slaves to obey their masters.<sup>49</sup>

The Iowa legislature supported the Compromise by adopting a series of resolutions declaring that "all the controversy respecting the prohibition of slavery in the territories is forever laid to sleep." Therefore, it was the duty of all citizens to "conform to their requisitions and carry them out in good faith," no matter what the individual's feelings were toward specific sections of the laws. The Fugitive Slave Law, as part of the law of the land, must be obeyed. In stating their position, the legislators said they were not "apologists for slavery . . . [but] merely the advocates of their country's integrity, and as a consequence of her largest and most effectual good."<sup>50</sup> This appeal to the citizens to conform to the laws is significant in that, of all the measures enacted, the only one in which the individual citizen had a choice whether to obey or not was the Fugitive Slave Law. The others were merely organic enactments.

<sup>46</sup> "Iowa" to the editor, *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 25, 1850.

<sup>47</sup> *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Sept. 25, Nov. 13, 1850.

<sup>48</sup> See Gov. Ansel Briggs's Second Biennial Message, Dec. 3, 1850, and Gov. Stephen Hempstead's Inaugural Address, Dec. 4, 1850. Quoted in Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 1:409-410, 428.

<sup>49</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 25, 1850; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 28, Dec. 5, 1850.

<sup>50</sup> *Iowa House Journal*, 1850, 186, 190; *Iowa Senate Journal*, 1850, 94-5.

Senator Jones presented the Iowa resolutions to the Senate as "speaking the true American sentiment upon the question of slavery." He said that he was gratified because they were an expression of approval of his own and his colleague's course during the previous session and reflected the true sentiment of the Democratic party in Iowa which had not succumbed to the "fanatical excitement" engendered by the Wilmot Proviso. He repeated that he and Dodge "were the only Senators from any of the free States who were not instructed to vote for the Wilmot Proviso, and its kindred abolition doctrines."<sup>51</sup> The resolutions were presented to the House of Representatives by Lincoln Clark, newly elected Democratic Congressman who had formerly served in the lower house of the Alabama legislature and in that state's judiciary. Arriving in Dubuque in 1848, he was among the last group of Southern emigrants to Iowa that wielded significant influence in the state's politics.<sup>52</sup>

In Congress all seemed serene. All controversial questions were compromised, and there seemed to be nothing of national interest to occupy its time. Nevertheless, in the Northern states a storm was brewing. Expressions of discontent over the Fugitive Slave Law became ominous. In Iowa, Missouri slaveowners crossed and recrossed the state seeking runaway Negroes. Many of the people of southern Iowa were quite content with this. But there were others who were not, and they resisted the slave catchers and aided the slaves whenever possible. Again, partisan newspapers defended or attacked the law in bitter terms.<sup>53</sup>

The renewed agitation penetrated to Washington, where Senator Dodge made a violent attack on those who were trying to undermine the law and reopen the question. It was the abolitionists who were trying to nullify the law, he charged. These men were insincere and lacking in integrity, for their sole concern was to free the Negroes and then to ignore them. The South, he felt, must be protected against the scheming of these men. That section had the right to enjoy its prosperity in security under the Constitution. "I am not the friend of the blacks," he emphasized, "as

<sup>51</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., 103.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 692; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, D. C., 1928), 816.

<sup>53</sup> O. A. Garretson, "Travelling on the Underground Railroad in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 22:418-20, 428 (July, 1924); *Iowa City Republican*, Dec. 13, 1851; *Iowa City Capital Reporter*, May 19, 1852.



against my own race and my own countrymen." He then took exception to some remarks Senator James M. Mason of Virginia had made about Northerners not keeping the peace, vigorously pointing out the stand of Iowa in support of the Fugitive Slave Law and the right of the South. Mason immediately arose and replied that he "certainly did not mean to include that State in my remarks in reference to public opinion in the free States generally. He has characterized that State properly. There is a sound state of public opinion there, and I trust it may long pertain to that State."<sup>54</sup>

A year later, on August 26, 1852, Dodge spoke once more in defense of his support of the Fugitive Slave Law. He acknowledged that the law was intended to benefit the slave states, but he justified his vote for it on the grounds that he was disinterested in the institution of slavery and wished only to end all fears on both sides. He concluded this portion of his speech with a declaration on Negro-white relations:

Mr. President, the questions involved in this slavery agitation rise in importance far above the fugitive law, and to a great way beyond even the abolition of slavery in the States of the South — revolutionary and destructive of life and property as the latter would be. Behind these are those grave and momentous questions of equality, amalgamation, and superiority between the Caucasian and African races. The idea of equality and amalgamation of those two races in the United States of America is utopian in the extreme, and I think wicked and disgraceful. With the exception of a fanatical few, to state the question is to show its utter impracticability, and to draw upon its author the execration of all men of all parties, save the Abolition party. As long as the two races inhabit the same country, the white race will maintain its superiority over the black race. All history fully attests this fact, and whether it was so designated by the Great Creator of the Universe or not, the acknowledgement of that superiority is the only condition upon which these races can ever live together in peace.

Dodge concluded with another attack on the abolitionists and characterized them as "ambitious and designing demagogues" who were trying to introduce "black-skinned flatnosed, and wool-headed" Senators and Representatives into Congress. The result of this, said Dodge, would be the debasement of the white race and the end of the Union. He, for one, would

<sup>54</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix 310-11.

fight against such an eventuality. He then praised the Southerners for their "heroic" defense of their property against the "firebrands" who were bent upon imposing this "horrid state of society" upon the country.<sup>55</sup>

This whole speech was that of a "doughface" — a Northern man with Southern principles — a declaration against an "inferior" race, an argument for slavery. It was a clear reflection of the proslavery majority in Iowa that had sent Augustus Dodge to the United States Senate.

For the moment excitement occasioned by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law died down, and both parties were content to leave well enough alone, although Dodge's speech proved offensive to a certain element in the Iowa Democratic party.<sup>56</sup> Large numbers of Germans were unhappy over the party's acceptance of the law, an unhappiness that foreboded trouble for the Democrats. As for the Whigs, they were warned that the country wanted peace and that they must proclaim their adherence to the Compromise acts if they wished to survive as a party.<sup>57</sup> The leaders of the Democratic party, for their part, were desirous of preventing any split in their ranks. They determined to ignore all issues that caused friction, and in order to do so they had championed the Compromise as the final settlement of the slavery question.

The result of the election of 1852 seemed to prove that the Democrats had been right. The national platform of the party had included a so-called "finality" resolution which the state organization echoed.<sup>58</sup> During the campaign the Iowa Democrats hammered away at the fact that they had compromised all dangerous issues, and they emerged with a sweeping victory at the polls and triumphantly re-elected George Wallace Jones to the Senate.<sup>59</sup> They had guessed correctly that the people of the state would back up their Compromise stand and their defense of the Fugitive Slave Law. Their aims seemed to be realized; slavery agitation had ended.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 1118-19.

<sup>56</sup> Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Aug. 12, 1852; David S. Sparks, "The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:11 (January, 1955).

<sup>57</sup> Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 13, 1851; New York *Daily Times*, Nov. 29, 1851.

<sup>58</sup> Kirk Porter, *National Party Platforms* (New York, 1924), 28-32, 36-7; Roy V. Sherman, "Political Party Platforms in Iowa" (M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1926), 107.

<sup>59</sup> Dubuque *Daily Miners' Express*, Aug. 3, 1852; Iowa City *Republican*, Dec. 18, 1852.

But almost at once there was the beginning of some discontent in Iowa. Stimulated by the growing Northern immigration, antislavery sentiment became more vocal, and there was a reaction against the Iowa Congressmen's defense of slavery. The old settlers were perfectly content, but the new were not. Although the proslavery forces grew cautious, so as not to offend the new settlers unduly, a series of events across the Missouri River soon renewed the agitation on the slavery issue and galvanized the latent antislavery sentiment that had come to Iowa.

A number of people in Iowa were interested in the construction of a transcontinental railroad that would traverse their state. They hoped that if Congress approved such a project a land-grant act would result benefitting both themselves and the railroad. In order that such a bill be passed, the land west of Iowa must be organized and its Indian land titles cleared. Appeals were made to both major parties in the state to unite on the project and see it through to completion.<sup>60</sup> The matter was considered all the more urgent because Missourians who were trying to get a transcontinental railroad for their state secured the necessary "right of way" legislation from Congress in 1852.<sup>61</sup> Petitions had been presented to Congress from Iowa as early as 1848 requesting a similar act, but despite the efforts of Senators Dodge and Jones, Congress had ignored these.<sup>62</sup> The repeated rebuffs stimulated the desire to organize the territory across the Missouri River before the Missourians were too far advanced with their plans. Mass meetings were held throughout Iowa, pressing for the organization. As a result, Senator Dodge introduced a Nebraska territorial bill in late 1853, which emerged from Stephen A. Douglas' Committee on Territories as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.<sup>63</sup>

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill contained a clause, section 21, which reopened the whole slavery controversy. This section repealed the Missouri Compromise and gave to the people of a territory themselves the right to

<sup>60</sup> Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party," 59; *Bloomington Herald*, Dec. 2, 1848.

<sup>61</sup> Perley Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise* (Cleveland, 1909), 100-101; *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., Part III, iii.

<sup>62</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 103, 380.

<sup>63</sup> The territory was split in two in response to a demand from the settlers of the area themselves. George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934), 148. For some of the earlier developments, see *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1853; Jan. 11, 1854; *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 14, 1854; *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., 44.

decide if they wanted slavery or not within their territory. Douglas believed this consistent with the principle enunciated in the Compromise legislation of 1850. Furthermore, the people of the territory involved had asked for the right to decide this for themselves.<sup>64</sup>

A storm was brewing here that was to influence Iowa profoundly. There was a great deal of criticism in the North against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts moved to prevent it.<sup>65</sup> Iowans of both parties were chagrined. Despite all of their efforts to check it, there was renewed agitation on the slavery question.<sup>66</sup> Their two Senators and their Representatives came out in favor of the bill and of the principle of popular sovereignty, basing their support on the fact that section 21 was consistent with the principles of 1850, while all laws passed by Congress to regulate slavery extension were invalid. Dodge characterized any bill limiting slavery expansion as a "dangerous assumption of power" by Congress and one which it had no right to make. He urged that all those who had supported the principles of 1850 should do so again.<sup>67</sup>

The people of Iowa, however, showed no signs of following Dodge's advice. To them the fact that slavery agitation was being revived outweighed all other considerations. Whig newspapers claimed that two-thirds of Iowa's people were against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and that the agitation being stirred up on the issue was dangerous to the preservation of the Union. This was the third time, they said, that North and South had fought for the territories. The people had been lucky in 1820 and 1850. To reopen "the wounds" could mean the end of such luck.<sup>68</sup>

The Whigs were not alone in their opposition. The Iowa Democratic party split wide open on the issue. Most of the rank and file members were opposed to the position expressed by their congressional leaders. Many proved willing to give up their traditional party membership in order to maintain peace on the slavery issue.<sup>69</sup> The Democratic leaders, seeking

<sup>64</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., 221, Appendix, 382; Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 148.

<sup>65</sup> *New York Daily Times*, Jan. 20, 1854; *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., 186.

<sup>66</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 22, 1854.

<sup>67</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 376-82.

<sup>68</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 22, Mar. 15, 1854.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1854; Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party," 72.



some way out of their predicament, decided to ignore the issue raised by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and concentrate their efforts on the argument that the abolitionists were causing all of the agitation and trouble. Senator Dodge, to advance this plan, made a long speech attacking the abolitionists for what he charged was their obvious aim to gain political power at the expense of the territorial bill. He pointed out that the whole career of abolitionism was one of violence. This violence, he added, had destroyed Southern emancipation sentiment by its extremism, and thus the abolitionists had themselves delayed the emancipation of the Negro. They had also fought against the only humanitarian means of solving the problem: Negro colonization. It was the abolitionists who, with their constant pressure on the South, had forced the Southerners to take strong measures against the Negroes in their midst. If the abolitionists were really interested in the welfare of the Negro, they, too, would be for slavery expansion as this would disperse the Negroes over a wide area where the institution would ultimately die. Therefore, there was no reason for any "sickly sentimentality" over slavery.<sup>70</sup>

Senator Dodge was trying to win back the moderates of his own state with this partisan attack, but he was largely unsuccessful. Some of the Democratic press said that his cry of abolitionism was no longer valid because it was "false and idle, and stale," and no longer had the power "to drive men from what they deem to be the performance of duty."<sup>71</sup> Petitions against the bill poured into Washington from Iowa, further challenging the position of their Senators. This reaction in Iowa was about the same as in the rest of the Northwest, a reaction unexpected and frightening to many leaders in Washington. But the Pierce administration was behind the bill, and nothing could stop its momentum. On Friday, March 3, 1854, the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 37 to 14, with Dodge and Jones voting in favor. The Southern Senators openly rejoiced as the bill passed.<sup>72</sup>

When the news reached the West, the *Iowa City Republican* sarcastically

<sup>70</sup> Dodge averred that Negroes belonged away from the United States, for if God had wanted the two races living together he would not have put them on separate continents originally. *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 377-82.

<sup>71</sup> *Muscatine Democratic Enquirer*, Mar. 1, 1854.

<sup>72</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., 532, 551, 773, 1040; Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Caesar Dodge* (Iowa City, 1908), 194.

congratulated the Senate on the triumph of "Doughface policy in the North," while another paper charged that Iowa's Senators had voted for the bill in order to promote their own political fortunes rather than Iowa's interests.<sup>73</sup> This criticism was not confined to Iowa alone. Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune* asked whether "Alabama and Florida [were] more devoted to the despotic ideas of American panslavism" than Iowa under the control of "cunning place hunters who juggle[d] and swindle[d] in the abused name of Democracy [and who were] . . . the enemies of guaranteed Freedom in the New Territories?"<sup>74</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier followed with a charge that Iowa was "another of the free slave states."

From the hour of its admission to the present, its influence and its votes have been given in favor of slavery. Augustus Caesar Dodge's vote has always been as certain for any villainous scheme of slavery propagandism as those of Butler and Atchison. . . . Iowa is now, and has been from the outset . . . to all intents and purposes, a slave state.<sup>75</sup>

The same sort of reaction was repeated when the House of Representatives met to consider the bill. Bernhart Henn, Iowa's Democratic Representative, echoed the sentiments of Senator Dodge in defending the bill. He, too, attacked the abolitionists as the sole cause of all of the nation's grief. He felt that the Southerners in Congress were simply asserting a valid principle of constitutional law against the wild ravings of the abolitionists. When the bill came up, Henn voted for it and received a letter of commendation from Congressman W. B. W. Dent of Georgia for being "sound in the faith."<sup>76</sup>

There were a few commendations from within Iowa also. Ex-Governor Stephen Hempstead said that the act was one of the best ever passed. Resolutions favoring the delegation's vote were passed in the southern congressional district, and the leading Democratic newspaper applauded the "moral courage and zeal" of the Congressmen.<sup>77</sup> But all this was now the voice

<sup>73</sup> Iowa City *Republican*, Mar. 15, 1854; Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Mar. 9, 1854.

<sup>74</sup> New York *Tribune*, Mar. 29, 1854; Iowa City *Republican*, July 5, 1854.

<sup>75</sup> Washington *National Era*, July 27, 1854.

<sup>76</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 885-8, 1254; Frank I. Herriott, "James W. Grimes versus the Southrons," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 15:417n. (October, 1926).

<sup>77</sup> Iowa City *Republican*, July 12, 19, 1854; Iowa City *Capital Reporter*, May 31, 1854.

of a minority in a state that, to the outside world, had changed its viewpoint overnight. Iowa hated the act because it destroyed a mood which she had cultivated for eight years, a mood of moderation, peace, and evasion of dangerous issues. All of this was now gone. Horace Greeley was correct in declaring:

The passage of the Nebraska Bill was a death blow to Northern quietism and complacency, mistakingly deeming themselves conservatism. To all who had fondly dreamed or blindly hoped that the Slavery question would somehow settle itself, it cried "sleep no more!" in thunder tones that would not die unheeded. Concession and complacency were plainly doomed to subserve none other than the most transient purposes. . . . Systematic determined resistance was now recognized as imperative duty.<sup>78</sup>

Concession and complacency were indeed dead. One editor reminded the people of Iowa that they could record their protest "against the consummation of this foul plot" in the gubernatorial election which was but three months away.<sup>79</sup> It now seemed clear that Jones and Dodge had gone too far in their proslavery stand and had sabotaged their party unwittingly.

At the beginning of 1854 the Whig party of Iowa was badly split and in a moribund condition. For a time it even seemed useless to hold a state convention. But with the growing opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Whig hopes brightened. If a man could be nominated for governor who could weld a new coalition made up of those elements opposed to the bill, the party might have a chance of victory. They found their candidate in James Wilson Grimes, a thirty-eight-year-old native of New Hampshire. With him two Free Soilers were also nominated for state offices on the Whig ticket.<sup>80</sup> Some old-line Whigs denounced Grimes as an abolitionist and bolted the convention.<sup>81</sup> Grimes gave these up and sought to solidify his Free Soil and dissident Democratic support. To do this, he issued an "Address to the People of Iowa." Published on April 8, 1854, the "Address" won him definite Free Soil support. In it he concentrated on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and played upon the fears of many Iowans that the

<sup>78</sup> Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), 294.

<sup>79</sup> Iowa City *Republican*, May 24, 1854.

<sup>80</sup> David S. Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1854-1856," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:3-4 (January, 1956); Herbert Fairall, *Manual of Iowa Politics* (Iowa City, 1884), 37.

<sup>81</sup> Dubuque *Daily Miners' Express*, May 13, 1854.

slavery struggle would be transferred to the state itself. He pointed out how many proslavery people were still in Iowa, that they would battle antislavery forces for control of the state. Probably referring to Alexander H. Stephens, he asserted that "a distinguished Representative from Georgia" had announced that Iowa would be a slave state within fifteen years.<sup>82</sup> In this way Grimes effectively played on Iowa's long-sustained apprehension of slavery strife and the economic competition of Negro slaves. He also declared that it was the Democratic party that had brought about this threat of slavery because of its subservience to the wishes of the South. In addition, Grimes inflamed and won over to his side the growing German elements within the state by quoting, out of context, a remark made by Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina to the effect that the people of Iowa would rather have slaves among them than foreigners.<sup>83</sup>

The "Address" was widely circulated throughout the state by the Whig newspapers. The Democrats, caught off balance and thrown on the defensive, tried to repudiate the charges of Grimes, but despite denials from Stephens and Butler, Grimes repeated his charges in a campaign speech on July 5.<sup>84</sup> The denials never caught up with the original accusation, and the people of Iowa were left with the impression that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was what its opponents said it was: a Southern plot to extend slavery all about them and eventually to draw them into the slave system. The Nebraska issue became the sole theme of Grimes's campaign. His strategy worked, because for the first time in history Iowa elected a Whig governor, although by the very close margin of 2,000 votes.<sup>85</sup> The victory was largely a personal one for Grimes, since only one other state office went to a Whig. Grimes had successfully played up the one issue on which Democrats were most vulnerable: the resurrection of the slavery controversy and the ending of the "finality" pledge. He was never adequately answered by the overconfident Democratic leadership. Dodge and Jones stayed in Washington while their record was being attacked at home and never gave

<sup>82</sup> Quoted in Salter, *Grimes*, 47.

<sup>83</sup> Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL*, 10; Salter, *Grimes*, 48; Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 173, 173n., 174n.

<sup>84</sup> Dubuque *Daily Miners' Express*, June 13, 1854; Herriott, "Grimes versus the Southrons," 355-6n., 416-19.

<sup>85</sup> Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party," *IOWA JOURNAL*, 13; Fairall, *Manual of Iowa Politics*, 38.



their party the articulate leadership so badly needed.<sup>86</sup> Although there were other issues in the campaign, Grimes successfully obscured them with the one issue that could keep his coalition together. He was overjoyed at his victory, declaring that: "Our southern friends have regarded Iowa as their northern stronghold. I thank God it is conquered."<sup>87</sup>

Grimes realized that the excitement over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill could not last forever and that when it died he had to be ready with a positive program so that the Democrats would not be able to come back. He felt that his best hope was to weld his diverse group of Whigs, Free Soilers, and disaffected Democrats into a solid coalition centered on the issue of antislavery. He knew that he would be opposed at every step by the vestiges of the once powerful proslavery element. This group had grown proportionately smaller but was still articulate. And the congressional leaders were still of the old group. Grimes set his sights on Senators Dodge and Jones as his primary targets. The Whigs had won the state legislature in 1854, and Dodge, whose term was expiring, was replaced by Free Soiler James Harlan, a native of Illinois. Harlan demonstrated the basic difference between himself and his doughface predecessor when he told the United States Senate that Negroes were the equals of the white men because "they had arms, heads, noses, ears, legs, etc."<sup>88</sup>

Meanwhile, a call for a convention to organize the antislavery forces in Iowa was issued. This convention met in Iowa City in February, 1856, and organized the Republican party of Iowa. It is rather significant that most of the organizers and leaders of the new party were relative newcomers to the state.<sup>89</sup> The Democrats reacted violently to the organization of the Iowa Republicans. They declared that the Republicans were intent upon glorifying the Negro at the expense of the white man; that they would go to any extremes to harass and submerge the South; that they were following the tenets of "Seward niggerology."<sup>90</sup>

Despite continued Democratic attacks, the new party moved ahead al-

<sup>86</sup> Herriott, "Grimes versus the Southrons," 432; Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 173.

<sup>87</sup> Quoted in Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers?" 371.

<sup>88</sup> Dan Elbert Clark, *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 59-87, 123; Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Sept. 26, 1859.

<sup>89</sup> *Muscatine Journal*, quoted in John W. Gannaway, "The Development of Party Organization in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 1:517 (October, 1903).

<sup>90</sup> *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Jan. 16, Feb. 26, Sept. 16, Oct. 28, 1856.

most at will. They won several elections to cement their hold and proceeded partially to relieve Negroes of the restrictions placed upon them. For example, they gave the Negro the right to give testimony in Iowa's courts. The underground railroad worked at full operation as Iowa judges ignored the Fugitive Slave Law. The antislavery men were in full control and their numbers were being augmented daily as more immigrants crossed the Mississippi into Iowa.<sup>91</sup> The movement to undo twenty years of past history was climaxed in a convention called in 1857 to replace the state constitution of 1846.

One of the issues that the convention spent a good deal of its time debating was whether or not to remove the word "white" from the constitutional provision on suffrage. Immediately, there was sharp reaction to the idea from Democrats and old-line Whigs. But one man, James Edwards, a native of Kentucky, rose and made an impassioned attack on the institution of slavery and excoriated those of his colleagues who would uphold the South's "peculiar institution."

I am glad that I have an opportunity here of speaking upon this slavery question. Born in a slave state, and educated with all the prejudices of a slaveholder, I have been contending for twenty years with the institution of slavery. It was slavery that drove me from my native state. Then can it be expected that I should stand up here and become its defender? I left the state that gave me birth. . . . It was slavery that drove me away from her. . . .

And yet we find men here, breathing the free air, and treading the broad prairies of the State of Iowa, who are apologists of this greatest of all curses — human slavery. . . .

Who are those who stand up here and defend slavery? Is there any one here who advocates slavery? I tell gentlemen, that if they do not advocate slavery with their lips, in so many and direct terms, they exert an influence and power in regard to it that is the very backbone of the institution in the South.<sup>92</sup>

Iowa's proslavery legions were not used to such a direct and violent attack on their beliefs. Edwards reflected the new temper in a state where

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1856; *Dubuque Express and Herald*, Dec. 24, 1856; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 1:280-81; Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," 19; Louis Pelzer, "The Negro and Slavery in Early Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 2:481 (October, 1904); Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 97-8.

<sup>92</sup> *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa . . . 1857* (2 vols., Davenport, 1857), 2:681, 683.

antislavery sentiment was now the dominant theme. But the triumph of antislavery thought was by no means complete. The people of Iowa had been imbued with their anti-Negro feelings too long. Although Iowans were in the process of changing their attitudes, it would not be until after the Civil War that negrophobia would disappear from the state.

At the convention of 1857 a Negro-exclusion resolution was introduced but laid on the table. Previously, the Negro-suffrage resolution had been referred to the committee on suffrage. Within a short time the committee reported back to the convention with a majority favoring striking the word "white" from the suffrage qualifications. A minority on the committee fought the majority report, however, declaring that Iowa would be submerged under a deluge of Negroes from every section of the Union. They declared that these Negroes would soon control the state and that the whites would find their position intolerable.<sup>93</sup> The convention finally decided not to change the suffrage clause in the constitution, but to submit the issue of Negro suffrage directly to the people when they voted on the new constitution. When the question came before the voters, they showed that, although they had come a long way from their proslavery past, they were still enmeshed in their traditional anti-Negro prejudices. Democratic newspapers resurrected old fears and played upon old hatreds. If the provision went through, they declared, the state would be abolitionized, and the Negro with take over and drive the white man into degradation. They repeatedly attacked those Republican delegates who had favored this provision.<sup>94</sup> The combination of propaganda and prejudice worked well. Negro suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 49,387 to 8,489.<sup>95</sup> The Negro disability provision stayed in the constitution, while some men who had voted for Negro suffrage were driven from political office, since many people believed them to be abolitionists.<sup>96</sup> Iowa was now strongly antislavery but not abolitionist.

<sup>93</sup> *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Iowa, 1857* (Muscatine, 1857), 119, 240, 243, 320-21.

<sup>94</sup> *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1856; June 23, 1857.

<sup>95</sup> Carl Erbe, "Constitutional Provisions for the Suffrage in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 22:206 (April, 1924).

<sup>96</sup> Two years later L. L. Pease, a Republican candidate for state senator, was defeated because he had voted for Negro suffrage in 1857. J. W. Denison to C. C. Carpenter, Dec. (n. d.), 1859, *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

After the adoption of the Constitution of 1857, Iowa's politics again became tied in with national affairs. The Dred Scott decision of 1857 became a vital issue in the state, as Republicans denounced the Supreme Court and Democrats defended the decision.<sup>97</sup> The Dred Scott case, however, was not the issue that finally brought down the last vestiges of the once-proud Southern spirit in Iowa. Instead, this disintegration came about as a result of both the development of affairs in Kansas and the actions of the very personification of the old Iowa, George Wallace Jones. Jones was the only Iowa Democrat still in Congress; although his state had changed, he had not. Motivated by his early upbringing and his friends of a lifetime, he still spoke and voted with the South and against the wishes of his state.

From the beginning of its development as a territory, Kansas was doomed for trouble. Free-staters and slave-staters rushed into the land in a race to be the first to assert popular sovereignty. Clashes and chaos inevitably followed. In Iowa there was general indignation on both sides over developments in Kansas. The Republicans saw the Kansas struggle as a part of a Southern plot to perpetuate the institution of slavery by bloodshed. Governor Grimes threatened armed intervention to protect Iowa's citizens in Kansas. The Democratic press, on the other hand, assailed "the fanatical, wild, and revolutionary course being pursued by Northern fanatics," as stories were circulated telling of assaults on peaceful Southern immigrants by gangs of "nigger worshippers."<sup>98</sup>

Senator Jones, for his part, persisted in his proslavery attitude as he became one of the sponsors of the Lecompton Constitution drawn up by the proslavery forces in Kansas and presented to Congress in the hope that the territory would be admitted immediately as a slave state. This constitution was rooted in fraud, as it had been rammed through by the slave-state men without the free-state men voting on it. For this reason, one of the chief opponents of this bill was Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who saw a perversion of popular sovereignty in the Lecompton Constitution which had not been accepted by a majority of all of those eligible to vote for it. Douglas' opposition caused a Democratic party split as the Buchanan administration accepted and backed the Lecompton Constitution. The split

<sup>97</sup> *Fairfield Iowa Sentinel*, May 14, 1857.

<sup>98</sup> Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 2:66; letter of Grimes to President Franklin Pierce, Aug. 28, 1856, quoted in Salter, *Grimes*, 85; *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Oct. 2, 6, 1855; June 1, Aug. 22, 1856.



went through the Democratic ranks right down the line to Iowa.<sup>99</sup> This was the opportunity that the Republicans had been waiting for. If they could cause a split between Jones and the state party on the issue they would easily be able to gather up the Senate seat for themselves while insuring against a resurgence of the Democrats.

On December 17, 1856, the Iowa General Assembly instructed Jones to vote for the admission of Kansas only as a free state.<sup>100</sup> A year later resolutions passed by the Assembly attacking the Lecompton Constitution were dispatched to Jones with instructions that he should present them to Congress. He did so, but at the same time he defended the Lecompton Constitution. He also said that he had no intention of obeying the previous instructions from the legislature, as he believed that the only way to solve the slavery question would be to admit Kansas as a slave state at the same time that Minnesota was admitted as a free state, in the tradition of previous moves of this nature. He thereupon proceeded to vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution.<sup>101</sup>

The action split the Democratic party in Iowa. Many Democrats went with Douglas and came out against the Lecompton Constitution, while only a few remained with Jones.<sup>102</sup> The jubilant Republicans unleashed an immediate attack on Jones by asking if the people of Iowa wished to have as their Senator "that pro-slavery doughface." This question was constantly repeated in an effort to widen the split.<sup>103</sup> The Democrats, in order to defend themselves, resorted to antiquated tactics. They insisted that slavery should not be discussed or agitated. The Republicans ignored the advice,<sup>104</sup> and their tactics paid off when the Democrats repudiated Jones and came out in favor of the Douglas position. George W. Jones was not renominated by the Democrats for the Senate. The antislavery *Chicago Tribune* wrote his epitaph:

<sup>99</sup> Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 255-94.

<sup>100</sup> Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1856.

<sup>101</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., 566; Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 51.

<sup>102</sup> Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, June 30, 1858; Louis Pelzer, "The History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:188-9 (April, 1909).

<sup>103</sup> Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, Feb. 10, 1858; "Letters of James W. Grimes," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 22:494 (October, 1940).

<sup>104</sup> Davenport *Weekly Gazette*, Dubuque *Daily Times*, and Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, quoted in Clark, *Senatorial Elections*, 106, 117-19; Burlington *Iowa State Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1857; Dodd, "Fight for the Northwest," 777.

A light is extinguished in our sister State beyond the Mississippi, and gloom falls over the northwest. Jones is no more! Four days ago he shone with comet lustre in the galaxy of the unwashed; now, "sick almost to doomsday with eclipse." As Dodge — lost Pleiad — sailed from the space two years ago, so Jones wanders away to bear him company in the regions of the infinite Nowhere. *Par nobile* discomfited demagogues! . . . Dodge was the embodied genius of the doughface. — Jones never attained that dignity.<sup>105</sup>

After Jones's downfall came the crowning blow. As his replacement in the Senate the Republican-controlled Iowa legislature elected James Wilson Grimes.<sup>106</sup> This action ended an era in Iowa history. The reign of the "doughface" was over. Both within and without the state, Iowa presented a solid antislavery front. Grimes and Harlan in Washington and Samuel J. Kirkwood in the governor's chair gave Iowa a different political tone. The South no longer had a political ally.

Despite some efforts in the last two years before the Civil War to resurrect the issue of the Negro in Iowa, the Democrats were unable to stage any kind of comeback. The party's long flirtation with proslavery opinion in Iowa had cost it heavily in the end. By 1860 the party occupied comparatively the same position that the Whig party had occupied during Iowa's territorial years. Democrats were ineffectual in the main, and despite their assaults on the "nigger scented" Mr. Lincoln in 1860 the Republicans swept the state.<sup>107</sup> Iowa went into the Civil War Northern, Republican, and antislavery. And George W. Jones suffered the final humiliation of being jailed by order of Secretary of State William Seward, who claimed that he did it lest disloyal elements within the state rally behind Jones to aid the secessionists. As a result of this, the Democratic party as a whole was accused of treason by the Republicans and became moribund as thousands deserted it under the barrage of wartime Republican propaganda.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Quoted in Clark, *Senatorial Elections*, 106-107. See also *Iowa City Republican* Feb. 3, 1858.

<sup>106</sup> Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 313.

<sup>107</sup> *Sioux City Eagle*, June 12, 1858; *Sioux City Register*, Apr. 28, Sept. 15, Nov. 3, 1860; *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1859; *Des Moines Iowa State Journal*, Nov. 26, 1859; Kenneth F. Millsap, "The Election of 1860 in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:119 (April, 1950).

<sup>108</sup> Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 60, 62-3; Robert Rutland, "The Copperheads of Iowa: A Re-Examination," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:8-9, 29 (January, 1954).

The Southern dominance within the state could not last. The area was on one of the main routes to the West; and with the increasing Eastern overland migration, Iowa soon filled up with people of a different background. Thousands of Northern antislavery settlers came to the prairies of Iowa and soon challenged the old settlers for control of the state. With the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso the slavery controversy came to the center of the American political stage. The two Iowa groups then contended actively for the right to speak for their state on the slavery issue. Despite the efforts of the Southerners to maintain Iowa as a friend of the South, the Northern forces found a great leader in James W. Grimes, who guided the political revolution that wrested the state away from Southern dominance.

Iowa was a contradictory entity during the ante-bellum period. She was located in the North and subjected to Northern influences, yet at the same time she had a strong attachment to the South that she refused to give up. She defended the South and slavery even though the expansion of the slave system was one of the reasons why many of her people left the South originally. Fortunately for their peace of mind, the Southerners in Iowa were able to justify their defense of slavery. Negroes were anathema to them, and if they had to defend slavery and resort to extremism to keep the Negro away from them, they would do it. As a result, Iowa's representatives in Congress were forthright promoters of the Southern point of view and as nearly pro-Southern as the Southern representatives themselves.

The proslavery group shaped Iowa during a great part of her early history, and tenaciously maintained itself until disrupted by the Civil War. So thoroughly was it then broken up that Iowa lost the last trace of her pro-Southern and proslavery attitudes and emerged finally as a Northern state with Northern principles.

DOCUMENT  
REMINISCENCES OF JACOB C. SWITZER  
OF THE 22ND IOWA

*Edited by Mildred Throne\**

Many of the soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies kept diaries of their experiences; others wrote reminiscences of their army life, often long after the exciting days were over and only the highlights of their soldiering remained fresh in their memories. The following document is of this latter type. Jacob Carroll Switzer was a private in Company A of the 22nd Iowa Infantry Regiment, and his memoirs were written late in life and the manuscript typed for the use of his family. A granddaughter, Miss Katherine Humphrey of the faculty of Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls kindly loaned the manuscript to the State Historical Society. Because of the length of the document, it will appear in installments in several issues of the JOURNAL.

Jacob Carroll Switzer was born on August 30, 1843, at Union Bridge, Carroll County, Maryland, the son of John and Elizabeth (Wolfe) Switzer. In 1857 the family moved to Iowa and settled on a farm in Johnson County. In 1862, at the age of nineteen, Jacob enlisted in the 22nd Iowa, which saw action in the battles of Champion's Hill and Black River Bridge, in the siege of Vicksburg, in the capture of Jackson, Mississippi, and spent some time in the South under General Nathaniel Banks, finally moving east in 1864 to serve under General Philip Sheridan in his Shenandoah Valley campaign. There, at the battle of Winchester, Virginia, on August 19, 1864, young Switzer was so severely wounded that his right leg had to be amputated. Discharged from the service, he returned to Iowa City, studied at the University, served as a clerk of the district court for a time, and then turned to banking, serving Iowa City banks in various capacities for over thirty-five years. He married Mary Evelyn Page in 1871; after her early death, he married Catherine Coover in 1877. The Switzer homestead for some forty years was the former home of Iowa's first territorial governor, Robert Lucas, on Kirkwood Avenue in Iowa City. This house has now been re-

\*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.



stored and preserved as an historic site. Jacob Switzer died on May 31, 1914, at the age of seventy-one.<sup>1</sup>

This installment of Switzer's reminiscences covers the period from his enlistment at Iowa City through the famous siege of Vicksburg; the second section will cover the period the 22nd Iowa spent in the far South under General Banks; while the final installment covers the time Switzer spent in Sheridan's forces in the Shenandoah until his wounding at the battle of Winchester and his subsequent hospital experiences. Switzer wrote well, recalling incidents of high drama and low comedy, the intimate details of the soldier's life which do not find their way into official reports. For these insights into the life of the "Billy Yank" of the Union army, these reminiscences are valuable.

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#### PART I

I enlisted on the 18th day of August 1862 in Company A of the Twenty-second Regiment of Iowa Volunteers. I was the first one that enlisted in the morning about 8 o'clock. I was sworn in by Squire Malcolm Murray. I had intended enlisting in the Company raised by Capt. Jim Robinson, who was killed at Vicksburg in the charge, which was Company I of the Twenty-second Regiment; but when I came to town I found that the Company in which my cousin, S. J. Switzer, had enlisted, which was raised for the Eighteenth Iowa, had returned to Iowa City to become Company A of the Twenty-second. I found some of the officers and they hustled me off at once to Squire Murray's office to be sworn in before I might change my mind about the Company which I should join.

An instance of the patriotic sentiment, the deep interest in the prosecution of the war, then prevailing, will be illustrated by my enlistment. When we reached Squire Murray's office, he had just arrived for the day's business and was fixing up his papers in his little office upstairs in an old wooden building, standing about where now stands Lee & Ries Book Store. We went upstairs into his office and an officer (afterwards Capt. D. J. Davis, I think), said: "Here, Squire, swear this man into the service." Squire Murray looked around, saw half a dozen soldiers standing in his office, and said: "Get out of here! I don't swear anybody in up here. Go down

<sup>1</sup> From biographical sketch of Jacob Carroll Switzer in Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History* . . . (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1913), 2:871-6; Iowa City Press, June 1, 1914.

stairs." He followed down, mounted an old auction table that stood on the edge of the sidewalk, grabbed the American flag, swore me in, waved the flag over me and gave three cheers for the Union. The people on the street looked up and around and began to gather, and during the day probably one hundred recruits were sworn in, every one of whom had three cheers given by the surrounding crowd led by Squire Murray, but in my case the Squire was the only one to give the cheers.

I ought to give a sketch of camp life at "Camp Pope," Iowa City, where my soldier life began. Camp Pope was located on the east side of Summit Street from north of Bowery Street to the Rock Island railroad. The parade and drill ground was on both sides of the railroad up to the front of Governor Kirkwood's house on Kirkwood Avenue. We were all heroes in the eyes of our mothers, sisters, and cousins. With wooden bayonets we challenged the salute of the wooden sword of the officer of the guard as that dignitary made his grand rounds night or day. We halted the fierce school boy as he endeavored to "run the guard line" with his basket of home-made candy, fruit or pies to sell to the unwary veteran for his delectation. We made the day vibrate with the calls of "Corporal of the Guard, Post Number Nine," passing the call around from the farthest post to keep that High Muck-a-muck alive to the importance of the high private on his solitary post and his importance to the safety of this command, to supply his constant need of a chew of tobacco, a drink of water, or to take his gun and keep the enemy at bay, while the private had a private "confab" with his best girl who had just called to see him a few minutes.

It was with a very squeamish stomach that I first took my tin cup, tin plate, tin spoon, and iron knife and fork and went to the soup house for my rations. I looked at the cooks, greasy, dirty, slovenly; and then at the provisions and wondered of what the soup was composed. It didn't seem to me just like "Mother used to cook" but whether I ate or not the meal time only lasted a few minutes and I had other things to think of. One day Mother and the girls and neighbors' girls set us a dinner of good things outside the lines — such as we saw so little of for many weary months after.

Then we drew uniforms and guns — real guns — and the parades of the Twenty-second drew out thousands of visitors every fine day to witness the glitter and pomp of military maneuvers. Those were days of preparation for more serious work, and I must express my belief that, while it seemed to me that we were only playing soldier, they were days well spent and

fully occupied in gaining a knowledge of things and conditions that conduced to make the Twenty-second one of the most efficient regiments in the Union Army.

I was mustered into the United States service with the regiment on the 9th of September 1862, and about the 12th<sup>2</sup> the regiment started at midnight in box-cars, cattle cars, and open coal cars for Davenport to sail for the South. Although we left Iowa City at midnight or later, hundreds of people turned out to see the regiment leave for the seat of war. We left Davenport on a steamer the same day, landed at Montrose, and took coal cars to go around the rapids to Keokuk. At Keokuk we met our first experience in soldiery in a storm. We were quartered in an old foundry or machine shop with less than half a roof, when a tremendous rain storm came up and it was almost impossible to find a dry spot inside of the building large enough to stand on. The boys scattered throughout town and found dry places in stores and saloons. Our stay was very short in Keokuk, we took boat for St. Louis where we landed and made our first march to Benton Barracks, perhaps four or five miles from the landing. In making this march in hot weather through the streets of St. Louis, I concluded if marching was as hard throughout the service I would never be able to stand a day's march for I thought it would have been impossible to march a half mile further.

We remained at Benton Barracks perhaps two weeks, then went by rail to Rolla, Missouri, where we went into winter quarters.<sup>3</sup> Our campaigning in Missouri consisted of forwarding supply trains to the different Union posts in southwest Missouri and acting as escort to the trains. My first day's march was made as escort to a supply train from Rolla to Waynesville. A Company was detailed to guard the train, we made the trip in two days going and two days returning, a distance of thirty miles. About a week before Christmas our Company was detailed to escort a train to Houston, Missouri, fifty or sixty miles, to a post commanded by General Warren.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The 22nd Iowa left Iowa City on Sept. 14, 1862. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 3:559. (Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.) *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 17, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> The regiment left Benton Barracks on Sept. 22, 1862, arriving at Rolla, Mo., the following day. *Roster and Record*, 3:559.

<sup>4</sup> Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington, originally the colonel of the 1st Iowa Cavalry, was promoted to brigadier-general in August, 1862, and was serving at this time under General Samuel Ryan Curtis of Keokuk. A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regi-*

When we arrived at Houston, General Warren, who wished to get the 22nd Iowa detailed to his command, refused to let us return to Rolla and we spent the balance of the winter under his command at Houston with two other Companies of our Regiment detained by General Warren in the same way, making a Battalion under command of Captain Charles N. Lee and in which Captain J. C. Shrader of Company H was detailed as assistant surgeon.<sup>5</sup> This was the first of now Dr. Shrader's duties on the medical staff which resulted in his becoming surgeon of the Regiment, he having begun his medical work while Captain of Company H.

On the trip to Houston we had under our escort a Houston merchant who had been up to Rolla to get some Christmas supplies for his store, among which was a keg of whiskey. Our rear guard secured the whiskey (by what means I don't know) but on the second night out the whiskey had been so generally distributed in the Company that the sergeant in charge of the guard, who had placed me on duty the night before, came to me and said I must stand picket duty that night. I said I had been up all night the night before on such duty and refused to be detailed and asked him the reason why. He said that nearly the whole Company was too full of whiskey to do picket duty and he was afraid of an attack from the rebels. I, however, went to bed and told him if the rebels took the camp they might have me too, I would not stand guard. I don't think the merchant had much whiskey for Christmas to distribute amongst his customers at Houston.

About the forepart of March—I can't give dates—our detachment with the balance of General Warren's troops at Houston, started towards West Plains.<sup>6</sup> We left camp in the morning, got a mile or two on the way

*ments . . .* (Des Moines, 1865), 35-50, 541-6; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:66, 278-9. Houston is the county seat of Texas County in south-central Missouri.

<sup>5</sup> Charles N. Lee of Iowa City, a veteran of the 1st Iowa Infantry, was captain of Co. A, 22nd Iowa, from June 17, 1862, until his resignation at Vicksburg on Aug. 8, 1863. John C. Shrader of Shueyville, was captain of Co. H of the 22nd. On May 1, 1864, he was promoted to surgeon. *Roster and Record*, 3:624, 652. After the war Dr. Shrader became one of the foremost physicians of Iowa City and a professor in the University medical school. *History of Johnson County, Iowa . . .* (Iowa City, 1883), 773-4.

<sup>6</sup> The correct date for the move toward West Plains was Jan. 27, 1863. *Roster and Record*, 3:559; Simeon Barnett, *History of the Twenty-Second Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry . . .* (Iowa City, 1865), 1; S. C. Jones, *Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry . . .* (Iowa City, 1907), 17.



when the mud was so deep that the wagon trains stuck and could not be pulled through. We returned to our old camp where we quartered, and the next morning started out again. The weather had turned so cold during the night that the ground was completely frozen and carried up the heaviest wagons and artillery on top of the frozen ground. Two or three days march brought us to our Regiment, the seven Companies that had been left in winter quarters at Rolla, and we were again under our old commander, Colonel Stone.<sup>7</sup>

An incident at the winter quarters at Rolla may never have appeared in history. The Colonel, having somehow obtained an almanac, discovered that there was to be an eclipse of the moon at a late hour at night and feeling sure that none of the boys were aware of the fact, planned a surprise for them. When the eclipse was at its height, he had the long roll sounded, as though the camp was about to be attacked by the enemy, hustled the boys out in line of battle facing the moon, and then showed them the eclipse. After fully enjoying the surprise of the boys and the joke, he dismissed the Regiment and let them return to quarters.

Another incident of the same camp might account in part for the appearance of a battle scarred banner. The boys remaining in Rolla, seven Companies, during the entire winter became very tired of the routine duties of camp life and drill and longed for some amusement. The Colonel, seeing their restlessness, decided that as the rebels would not attack them and give battle that he would have a battle amongst the boys; and just after a snow storm he divided the Regiment into two Battalions, set them in line of battle fronting each other on the parade ground and, placing the banner (the regimental banner, not the stars and stripes) between them, directed a battle with snow balls to ascertain which side could capture the banner. I do not know which side was victorious or who commanded either battalion but I do know that the banner suffered more in the contest than any of the contestants themselves.

Our next encampment or stopping place was at West Plains, Missouri, near the Arkansas line. We were there organized under the command of

<sup>7</sup> Col. William M. Stone of Knoxville, originally colonel of the 3rd Iowa, had been captured at the battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862. After his release he was appointed colonel of the 22nd, in which he served until his resignation on Aug. 13, 1863, having been nominated by the Republicans for the governorship of Iowa, an office to which he was elected in 1863 and re-elected in 1865. See Gue, *History of Iowa*, 3:253; Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 7-15; *Roster and Record*, 3:574.

General [John W.] Davidson. Our course from West Plains was directed eastwardly toward the Mississippi River in contemplation of joining the Vicksburg campaign. Leaving West Plains, our next encampment was at a place called Thomasville. (When I mention towns in the State of Missouri or give names of places, you must not imagine any large cities. If there was a house in Thomasville, I did not see it; however, we may have camped some distance from the place.) At this point we were out of rations and stopped to grind corn to supply the place of army bread.

The army sutler is perhaps an individual and an attachment to an army but little known to those not acquainted with war. He is always on hand promptly when his financial interest is benefitted thereby and never to be found when most needed. At Thomasville our sutler came into camp on wheels with a single cheese or two which, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, he sold out in about fifteen minutes at an enormous profit to himself, charging for a pound or two about what the entire cheese cost him.

Our halt at Thomasville was but for a day or two and we again took up the march over the Ozark Mountains toward rations. The mill had supplied us but very little in the way of provisions. A short way out from the camp, an orderly came back from the front along the line, saying, "Boys, a mile and a quarter to hard tack." Of course that was good news and the boys stepped off lively, but a mile and a quarter stretched out to two and a half, then to five and perhaps it was ten miles before we came late at night by the side of a wagon train loaded with provisions.

An incident on this march was the sight of the first dead rebel seen by any of the members of the Regiment who had not been in the service in the 1st Iowa.<sup>8</sup> Marching over the mountains the column of troops came upon a tall red-headed "bushwhacker" dressed in butternut clothing, lying dead in the middle of the road, with his wife and children crying over his remains. As the troops came up, the column opened and the front and rear ranks marched one on each side of the party and took a look at their first dead rebel. The touching part of the scene was the weeping and wailing of the dead man's family, the wife and mother calling upon the soldiers to witness that he was a brave man and was not running away but faced his

<sup>8</sup> The 1st Iowa was a 90-day regiment, mustered under Lincoln's first call for troops, and had served in Missouri, taking part in the battle of Wilson's Creek. After the regiment was mustered out on Aug. 21, 1861, many of the men joined the other Iowa regiments being enlisted for three years.

enemy. He evidently was shot in the forehead, killing him instantly. He, however, was known to the Union cavalry as a dangerous man and relentless bushwhacker and they, getting upon his trail that morning, were determined to capture him and reported that he refused to surrender when commanded to. To most of the soldiers of the Regiment, who passed through many scenes of carnage and bloodshed during the war, this was the most affecting scene witnessed by them during the entire service.

Crossing a branch of the Currant [*sic*. Current] River, shallow but very swift, was another experience of soldier life. The river was filled with wagons placed in the water, end to end, and the soldiers climbed into the wagon beds and by constant climbing from wagon to wagon crossed the stream. This was the only pontoon bridge of the kind met in my experience.

After crossing the Currant River, we struck a stream known as Sinking Creek. Crooked Creek perhaps would be a better name for I think we crossed it twenty to forty times before we got to its head where a spring came out of the mountain boiling up into a very large stream at its source.

Our next lengthy halt was made at Iron Mountain on the St. Louis & Pilot Knob Railroad.<sup>9</sup> We camped on the side of the mountain which is said to be composed of the richest iron ore in the country. There I first saw the process of smelting iron ore and extracting iron pigs from the original ore. . . .

From Iron Mountain we went to St. Genevieve on the Mississippi River across the country. St. Genevieve is said to be the oldest city on the Mississippi River and the country westward from it toward Iron Mountain, of which Farmington is about the center, is a very old settled country and the finest country I saw in Missouri. We were preparing to sail down the river and join Grant's army then concentrating for the investment of Vicksburg. Our camp at St. Genevieve lasted two or three weeks, perhaps,<sup>10</sup> and a number of our weak-kneed patriots learning that we were about to get near to the rebels deserted while we were in this camp, thinking it easier I suppose to get to the north from there than further south.

We took steamer at St. Genevieve and our first landing place, as I recollect, was Helena, Arkansas, prior to which our boat halted at Columbus,

<sup>9</sup> The troops reached Iron Mountain on February 26, 1863. *Roster and Record*, 3:560.

<sup>10</sup> The regiment remained at Ste. Genevieve from March 12 to 22, 1863. They left on the steamboat *Black Hawk* and reached Milliken's Bend on March 27. Barnett, *History of the Twenty-Second Iowa* . . ., 2; *Roster and Record*, 3:560.

Kentucky, and Memphis, and we passed Island Number Ten — so long a rebel stronghold, now entirely washed away, I am informed. But we made only a short stop. Helena was a swampy malarious hole where the soldiers were dying of disease very rapidly. We pursued our course south and landed at Millikens Bend, a few miles north of Vicksburg where we found in advance of us thousands of soldiers encamped for the purpose of marching around Vicksburg on the west side of the river and approaching it from the south side and rear. I do not know how long our camp continued at Millikens Bend but in a very few days the army began to move southward. Our Corps was the first to move.

I might add here that we were placed in the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the 13th Army Corps.<sup>11</sup> Our Brigade was commanded by General Lawler, the Division by General Carr, and the Corps by General McClelland. Our Division took the advance in the first movements of the Army.

After our Regiment had proceeded on the march from Millikens Bend about two or three miles, our Company was ordered back to the Bend to unload wagons and provisions from the transports to follow the army with supplies. I think the Company was engaged two or three days in this work and when we started after the army it was with a wagon train of many wagons, quite a number of our Company being detailed as teamsters. But as soon as we returned to our old camp, I was taken sick and broke out with something like small pox and became very sick for a day or two. Our assistant surgeon was still in camp and he was called in to see me and I asked if it was small pox. He said he could not tell until the next day and would come back and see me again, but he did not come. There had been small pox in the camp before the army moved. However the breaking out on my face disappeared in a day or two and I got much better and was able to climb upon a wagon and start with the Company when the train moved.

I must here give credit to brother James, who was in the same Company, for his care and attention to me at this time, as he refused to go to work

<sup>11</sup> At this time the 22nd Iowa was assigned to the 2nd brigade of the 14th Division, 13th Army Corps, Army of the Tennessee. The brigade consisted of the 21st, 22nd, 23rd Iowa, and the 11th Wisconsin, and was commanded by Brig. Gen. M. K. Lawler. The Division commander was Maj. Gen. Eugene A. Carr; the Corps commander, Maj. Gen. John A. McClelland. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 138. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)



with the others but stayed and took care of me during the entire time, regardless of the danger to which he exposed himself of taking small pox. I think I had a light case of varioloid because afterward during the war I was exposed to small pox again but did not take it.

The train stopped at about 1 o'clock in the morning — we had moved in the evening — the teamsters unhitched their teams and James and I, finding it cool on an open wagon, dismounted and made a bed on the porch of a house close to where our wagon stopped and both fell asleep. When we awoke in the morning the sun was high and our train gone. We slept so soundly that the noises did not wake us. So I had to take my accoutrements and march. On this march we encountered the 8th Wisconsin Regiment that carried the eagle known as "Old Abe," which went with the regiment through the war and was in every battle in which the regiment was engaged and lived many years after the war. I think his stuffed body is now in the capitol at Madison, Wisconsin.

On this march, until we reached what is known as Hard Times Plantation, our Company was detached from the Regiment and we had varied experiences. At one point we struck a bayou or old arm of the river where provisions were loaded into flat boats — I suppose they were coal barges; they could not be managed by oars or sails or poles and were let down into the Mississippi River by a process called "snubbing up."

The process of snubbing up is perhaps of sufficient interest to bear description. The boat is tied to trees, roots or stumps along the bank or standing in the overflowed grounds, with long ropes and let down by loosening the line while another rope is caught to a tree lower down. The snubbing up seemed to be the round turn with which the boat was brought to a halt as the end of the slack rope was reached and preparation made to fasten another line — when I say the boat was brought to a "halt," you understand I am speaking as a soldier and not as a sailor. You may suppose our "sailing" without sail or oar was a slow process and to me, sick as I was, it was torture in the extreme. The boats were very deep which prevented any circulation of air and, having no coverings to keep off the sun, we were nearly broiled in the hot southern rays. We could climb to the edge of the boat for a moment to get air but had no way of hanging on or keeping such a position for any length of time.

When we reached the mouth of the bayou our boat was let loose and floated out into the Mississippi and was heading directly towards Grand

Gulf where the rebels had fortifications which would have blown us out of the water. But we had not been in the river long until *Queen of the West*, if I remember correctly, one of the transports that had run the batteries at Vicksburg<sup>12</sup> for the purpose of transporting troops across the river below, came to our rescue, picked up our boat and landed us near our camp at Hard Times Plantation. As soon as the steamer attached itself to our boat, I climbed out and got aboard the *Queen of the West* and was greatly revived by the fresh breeze in the cool shade of the cabin deck. This steamer had received two shots clear through during its passage past the batteries at Vicksburg; one cannon shot passed through the saloon of the steamer, breaking the large looking glass and wrecking the fine furniture of the vessel.

As soon as the troops had gathered in sufficient force at this last landing, preparations were made for crossing the river and entering upon the active campaign of Vicksburg. General Grant's plan was to take his gun boats down, shell the batteries at Grand Gulf, silence their guns and land his troops under shelter of the gun boats and make that his crossing point for the army. And to carry out that plan, he loaded his transports with troops, our Regiment being among the number, ready to land as soon as the gun boats had performed their duty; but Commodore Porter found the batteries too strong for him, he failed to silence them after several hours vigorous battle and the troops were again landed and marched further down the river on the west side, while the gun boats again shelled the batteries and during this battle the empty transports were run by for the purpose of

<sup>12</sup> Switzer is mistaken in the name of the boat. The *Queen of the West* had indeed run past Vicksburg, but on Feb. 2, 1863, and in broad daylight. Two weeks later, after doing considerable damage to Confederate shipping, the *Queen* ran aground under the fire of Confederate batteries and had to be abandoned to the enemy. The Confederates repaired the *Queen* and used her to good effect against Union boats in the river. See James Russell Soley, "Naval Operations in the Vicksburg Campaign," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 3:564-5. Many other Union gunboats and transports ran the batteries at Vicksburg on the night of April 16, 1863. Grant, having failed to take Vicksburg from the north, had decided to move his troops south of the city, on the west side of the river, and then cross them to the eastern bank just below Grand Gulf, some fifty miles south of Vicksburg. His troops would need the supplies which were all north of Vicksburg. A number of gunboats and transports ran past Vicksburg, sustaining considerable damage, but managing to get the supplies through. One of these transports was the *Forest Queen*. Possibly this was the boat Switzer had in mind. See *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:460-64. (Hereafter cited as Grant, *Memoirs*.)

crossing the army below. Our regiment was the first to land on Mississippi territory in this memorable campaign and the first to open battle with the enemy.<sup>13</sup>

I had not recovered from my sickness entirely and was not permitted to go with the Regiment when they left Hard Times Plantation. About fifty of the Regiment were left back sick and had charge of the camp which was left standing. During the few days we remained, we lived high on fish and also dew berries which we found in abundance in the fields.

The army crossed the river at a place called Bruinsburg, a few miles below Grand Gulf, and marched into the enemy's country. About 1 o'clock the next morning, May 1st, they encountered the Confederate army and the battle of Port Gibson was fought. As soon as Grant's army got into the rear of Grand Gulf batteries, they were evacuated and our troops and supplies following the first were landed at that point.

We were ordered to strike camp and follow, and taking boat we landed at Grand Gulf. Remained there one night when a train was loaded with ammunition and provisions to follow the army. Our surgeon, Dr. White, was in Grand Gulf and when we were called into line as escort to the train, the Doctor informed us that no sick men were wanted at the front; unless a man could carry "forty rounds," a knapsack, and three to five days rations he must remain back. I had been refused permission to go when the Regiment started from Hard Times because I had not yet fully recovered and I made up my mind that I would not be left at Grand Gulf. I shouldered my knapsack, took my forty rounds, took charge of a wagon, and started bravely up out of the low ground into the hills. I found that my ambition was greater than my strength. Before I got half way up the first hill my knapsack was in the wagon, soon my cartridge box and haversack followed, and before we had proceeded a mile I was in the wagon myself. I found that I could not stand hard marching in my then weakened condition. We took the first provision train that reached the army after crossing the river below and overtook our Regiment the evening before the battle of Champion's Hill on the 15th day of May. I stood on the side of the road when the Regiment passed me going into camp and I thought for some time that it was a strange regiment — I hardly knew the men of my own Company, so changed were they in a few days' hard campaigning on

<sup>13</sup> This was on April 30, 1863. *Roster and Record*, 3:560.



short rations. I knew I did not feel worse than they looked and I joined the Company and went into camp, glad to get back to the Regiment again.

The next day, May 16th 1863 occurred the battle of Champion's Hill, the first battle in which I was engaged.<sup>14</sup> The 13th Corps was in reserve that day until towards evening and we did not see very much fighting. However, late in the afternoon, we were moved forward into line of battle toward the left of the army and took a position in the edge of a piece of timber, receiving a severe shelling from the enemy. The solid shot and shell went whistling and roaring over our heads and we were lying on arms unable to do anything towards defending ourselves — this is considered the severest trial to the soldier. But inaction did not last long. Our Company, together with Company B, were deployed as skirmishers and commenced an advance over the field, feeling for the enemy. During our waiting spell in the timber we witnessed a very stubbornly contested fight on our left, a regiment of Union troops endeavoring to capture a battery in a little strip of timber in their front. The little band of Union men were slowly driven back, leaving the open field strewn with dead and wounded, but stubbornly contesting every inch of the ground. This sight, very often witnessed in war, to a soldier who had not been in battle before, was anything but encouraging — it was not calculated to steady his nerve. However, after

<sup>14</sup> After the capture of Port Gibson and the evacuation of Grand Gulf, Grant began to move his troops northeastward to cut off the Confederate troops at Vicksburg from those at Jackson, Mississippi, some 50 miles to the east and connected with Vicksburg by a railroad. "It would not be possible for Pemberton [the Confederate commander at Vicksburg] to attack me with all his troops at one place, and I determined to throw my army between his and fight him in detail," wrote Grant. He now had with him three corps: the 13th under McClelland; the 15th under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman; and the 17th under Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson. In the three-pronged movement toward the railroad line between Vicksburg and Jackson, McPherson's corps met 6,000 Confederates at Raymond on May 12 and defeated them. Grant now decided to send his whole force against Jackson before turning west to attack Vicksburg. Meanwhile, he had learned that the Confederate General, Joseph E. Johnston, had just reached Jackson to take command of the Confederate forces in Mississippi. On May 14, Grant attacked and took Jackson, while Johnston withdrew his troops northward, planning to flank Grant and join Pemberton, preferably at Clinton, on the railroad some ten miles west of Jackson. Johnston sent a message to Pemberton to that effect, one copy of which Grant intercepted. Grant quickly turned his forces around and started westward. Pemberton, unwilling to leave Vicksburg unguarded, had moved out slowly and with only a portion of his troops, in spite of Johnston's orders. Grant and Pemberton met at Champion's Hill, about halfway between Jackson and Vicksburg. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:485-513. See also Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1949-1956), 4: Chap. 12, for description of Grant's movements up to battle of Champion's Hill.



getting into action, moving over the field in skirmish line, and finding no considerable body of the enemy in our front, the tension of the nerves, caused by the suspense of waiting, was relieved and we moved along as if we were simply marching into camp. Having found no rebels, Captain Lee rallied our Company into column and we were marching forward over the field in the direction the enemy had taken, when without any warning, from a little bunch of timber to our left front, we received a volley of musketry which stopped our march for the time being. Hardly had we time to consider whether to retreat or advance on the enemy, when a battery of our light artillery came flying past us to our right, unlimbered within a hundred yards of us, fired a shot or two into the little strip of timber, and the enemy were gone. They were at the time we entered the battle in retreat and our movements only assisted in hastening their flight.<sup>15</sup> The enemy were completely routed in the battle, in which the 24th Iowa did the hardest fighting and received the severest punishment. We camped with the Regiment about 1 o'clock the next morning at Edwards Station, on the railroad leading from Jackson to Vicksburg, and at daylight we were moving in advance after the enemy in the direction of Vicksburg.

Before going into the battle of Champion's Hill, we had stacked our knapsacks and at night when we camped had no blankets or anything to make a bed. Finding it difficult to sleep without any accommodations, I began to look around for supplies. I found a small house adjoining what I supposed was a large plantation house, and some of the boys had got the door open and were helping themselves to feather beds, pillows, and other kinds of bed clothing. They were making their investigations by the light of a piece of tallow candle about an inch long. Just as I got inside and saw the character of the find, the candle went out; the others had taken what they desired; I reached down, grabbed an armful in the dark and went to our quarters to see what I had. I found several blankets and a beautiful white bed quilt. Our mess made a bed of the articles and the next morning I took the white bed quilt and gave the remainder to the others as we did not know when our knapsacks would be returned to us if at all. I intended to preserve the quilt and send it home but it got lost in the campaign or

<sup>15</sup> McClelland was in "easy hearing" of the battle, Grant wrote, but did not come up as rapidly as the commander wished. McClelland arrived when the enemy was in retreat, and Grant sent Carr's division of his corps in pursuit of the enemy. For battle, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:513-21; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 4:375-80.

stolen. Our knapsacks were returned to us after the battle of Black River Bridge which was fought on that day, May 17th.

The battle of Black River Bridge<sup>16</sup> was at the point where the Jackson & Vicksburg railroad crossed the Black River, crossing a low valley on the east to a high bluff on the west bank of the river. The rebel fortifications consisted of heavy batteries on the high bluff on the west and a rifle pit extending across the bend of the river on the east side from a strip of timber on the north to the river below. This rifle pit was dug in the rear of a deep bayou filled with water and also filled with brush, trees and other debris, making it impossible for troops to cross. The field in front of the works was level and open on the right and left, but covered by a little patch of timber in the center on the railroad.<sup>17</sup> Here, our Brigade being in advance, we were deployed on the right and formed in line of battle and stood thus for a long time in plain view of the enemy, receiving a brisk fire from their sharp shooters. Their batteries were shelling the woods in front and cutting through the trees and endangering many lives with falling limbs, splinters, etc.

It is my opinion that General Grant did not intend to force the fighting at Black River Bridge, as Sherman was advancing on Vicksburg by the Clinton road further north and I think he intended to hold the troops in front of us until Sherman could get into the rear of the rebel army.<sup>18</sup> But Grant had censured General McClelland for not bringing his troops into action at Champion's Hill the day before and, while I have no authority for saying so, I believe that McClelland determined to show Grant that the 13th Corps could do some lively fighting.

<sup>16</sup> For battle, see Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 4:380-82; Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:523-6.

<sup>17</sup> Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler, commanding the 2nd Brig., 14th Div., 13th Army Corps., of which the 22nd Iowa was a part, wrote in his report on May 26, 1863: "We came upon the enemy at Big Black Bridge, strongly posted behind skillfully constructed rifle-pits, extending across a neck of land formed by the Big Black River, his flanks well protected by this stream, and having in his front, in addition to the rifle-pits, a bayou filled with brush and fallen trees." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 135.

<sup>18</sup> Sherman had come up from Jackson, reaching Grant at the Big Black at 2 A. M. on May 17. Grant told Sherman he would "endeavor to hold the enemy in my front while he [Sherman] crossed the river" and flanked Pemberton. Had Pemberton obeyed Johnston's orders, Grant wrote, he would not have stopped at the crossing of the Big Black, but would have turned northward to form a junction with Johnston. This would have meant giving up Vicksburg, and this Pemberton would not do, in spite of orders from his superior. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:522-3.

Our Brigade was massed in column of regiments; the 23rd Iowa in advance, the 21st Iowa next, the 11th Wisconsin following them, and the 22nd Iowa in the rear. The 23rd Iowa advanced on the open field in front of the works, the ditch and obstructions being invisible. They reached the obstructions and were compelled to abandon the field and were very badly used up. Col. Kinsman in command was killed leading his men. The 21st Iowa following lost a great many men; the 11th Wisconsin suffered less. Our Colonel, William M. Stone, seeing the situation and observing that no fire came from the timber on our right, asked leave to charge his Regiment into the timber and we advanced on the double quick. Reaching the timber, we found the rifle pit ended with the open ground and we took an enfilading fire of the works. The rebels fled in confusion, many of them jumped into the river and it was said that many were drowned in attempting to cross in that way. The battle lasted but a very few minutes after the troops started into the charge.<sup>19</sup> The Confederates fired the railroad bridge before leaving and continued to fire upon us from their batteries on the west side of the river but the shots went over our heads, doing us no damage as they could not depress their guns sufficiently to hurt us who were in front. . . .

I had not recovered fully from my severe spell of sickness; and having had issued to us in the campaign three days' rations which was to last us five days, and being out of hard tack and our usual provision, I went on to the battle field and gathered up a rebel haversack or two that had been thrown away in their flight and found some corn bread. I call it "rebel corn bread" for I think it was about as deadly as the rebel that carried it. I ate some and it made me very sick indeed. I was unfit for marching or campaigning but as the army was on the move and our ambulances and wagons had gone ahead I was compelled to make the march.

We started the next evening and marched till 1 o'clock in the morning when we overtook the Regiment and went into camp. The next morning I reported sick and unable to march but was informed that the ambulance was full of sick and I must march or stay behind. I was determined not to be left behind so I started out with the Company but fell out of ranks

<sup>19</sup> Grant called this attack by Lawler's division a "brilliant and daring movement." Lawler himself gives credit for the idea for the movement to Col. William H. Kinsman of the 23rd Iowa. Kinsman, as Switzer mentions, was killed in the attack. Samuel Merrill, Colonel of the 21st Iowa, and later Governor of Iowa, was severely wounded during the fight. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 54; Part II, 136; *Roster and Record*, 3:455, 685.

frequently to rest and, after marching a half a mile or perhaps a mile and taking a short rest, I found that it was almost impossible for me to go at all. I, however, made a few rods between rests and had about given up, when one of my Company, H. D. Carson (who had been detailed at Milliken's Bend as teamster) came along with the wagon of the Corps medical director. I told him my situation and he asked me to get in and ride. I went with him to the Corps director's headquarters near Vicksburg, and camped under his wagon and began to think it was my last camping ground. I was terribly sick. Finally Carson said he was going to call the doctor to see me or I would die there. The doctor looked at me, asked me where I belonged. I told him to Carr's Division. He said, "Go up on the hill, there is the Division Hospital, and tell them to take good care of you. You are a very sick boy." I replied, "I can not get there myself to save my life. I cannot walk that far." He called a man who took me to the hospital in a buggy which had been captured somewhere in the campaign. I started to go into the building to convey the orders of the Corps director, when I met a hospital steward or some one filled with brief authority at the steps and he asked, "Are you wounded?" I answered "No." "Well, get out of here, none but wounded are allowed inside." So I went out under the trees and lay on the ground.

It was just after the terrible charge of the 22nd of May<sup>20</sup> and hundreds of wounded were in hospital and others coming in constantly from the field.

In a few minutes it began to rain and I picked up my accoutrements, went around the house, crawled into a shed kitchen attached to the house, got into the dry, and made my bed beside several others, sick and wounded. By getting into the building, I obtained some hospital supplies, i. e., good hard tack and coffee. Having been fed on rebel corn bread and hot biscuit, very heavy and indigestible, I needed only a little rest and good provisions on which to recuperate.

While I was there, every morning in front of the hospital would be laid out on the grass a row of from ten to twenty dead soldiers, who had died during the night from wounds. I recollect the incident, while there, of June Lawson, a soldier of Company G of the 22nd, who had been wounded in

<sup>20</sup> After the defeat of the Confederates at the Big Black, Grant had moved his army up to Vicksburg. Fearing an attack from Johnston in his rear, Grant ordered an attack on the city, thinking that it would fall quickly and he could then turn his attention to Johnston. The assault failed, however, and Grant had to prepare for a siege. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:531.



the charge on the 22nd of May and left on the field between the lines; being unable to get off himself he remained on the field for forty-eight hours until an armistice was held to bury the dead between the lines. He was found and brought into the hospital. He was shot squarely in the middle of the breast, the ball coming out at his left side and entering the fleshy part of his arm. I took care of him for several hours. He was glad to be among friends and felt that he was going to recover. His eye was bright as ever and I thought that he would get well too, and wondered that the surgeon gave him no attention only to direct that his wound be thoroughly bathed with cold water, which I did. The surgeon knew better than either of us for in twenty-four hours he was dead.

Here was the first operating upon wounded by the surgeons that I witnessed. To most people the sight is more trying than a battle. The sight of blood, the groans of the wounded, &c., have a tendency to shake the nerves of ordinary persons and those not accustomed to surgical work.

A day or two of good provisions and I was ready again for duty and joined the Company in camp around the fortifications of Vicksburg.<sup>21</sup> Our camp was in the head of a short ravine, formed in a circle with the convex side to the enemy, around the brow of the hill at the foot of which was a spring from which we and many other Regiments in the vicinity obtained our supply of drinking water. We were encamped about a quarter of a mile south of the railroad and our Corps was on the left of the Union army in the investment. After the charge of the 22nd was made, the army settled down to a siege with a view of starving out or digging out the enemy. Our camp was from seven hundred to a thousand yards from the main fortifications of the enemy's works. Between the brow of the hill, on which we were camped, and the enemy was very uneven ground. There was a deep valley in our front, the ground from our side sloping nearly to the Confederate works but interspersed with knolls and higher ground in other directions. Attached to our command was a battery of eight guns which was located almost immediately in front of our Company, just a little higher up the hill. This was the line of the rear light artillery. Our fortifications were built at night while we could not be seen, for in the day

<sup>21</sup> Vicksburg was now completely surrounded by Union forces: Grant's army on the land, the naval gunboats in the river. Grant stationed his corps with Sherman on the right, McPherson in the center, and McClelland on the left. *Ibid.*, 1:534. For the complete story of the siege, see *ibid.*, 532-70; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 4:388-425.

time it was dangerous to stick a head above the works as it would be sure to draw fire from the enemy, and they used the same caution to prevent being bombarded from our side. Having located our battery, our engineers commenced a zig-zag ditch in the direction of the enemy's works, going a few feet in one direction, then turning in a circle or angle in another direction.<sup>22</sup> A little to the right of our front, we erected a small fort, called the Horse Shoe Fort, perhaps one-third the way between our lines and Fort Beauregard, which was the name of the rebel fort immediately in our front. From the Horse Shoe Fort the ground in every direction toward the Confederate works sloped downward, the fort being situated on a knoll, and the engineering required to cross the ground toward the enemy was exceedingly difficult. A work called the middle rifle pit, nearly half way between the rear line and the Confederate works, ran parallel with the enemy's lines and connected with the Horse Shoe Fort. The method of getting up to the Confederate works from the Horse Shoe Fort was by digging a ditch to our left parallel with the center rifle pits and immediately in the direction of a Confederate fort to our extreme left. This would seem an impossibility without exposure to the enemy in that direction but the ditch was dug about six feet deep and narrowed so that a bale of cotton would, being laid crosswise, reach from one bank to the other. At the ditch proceeded down the hill a bale of cotton was laid across the top, and farther down the hill another bale, and so on until the foot was reached. The cotton being laid sufficiently close together that a shot going over the top of one bale would strike into the bale above, thus leaving a comparatively open ditch with perfect protection against gun shot. Through this ditch the soldiers, going and coming to and from the front, passed every day during the siege unmolested. I do not recollect of a man being wounded in these approaches during the siege. The lower end of this ditch ended in a ravine or gully by which we were protected from the view of the enemy.

Another ditch was dug into the hill upon which the rebel fortifications were erected, somewhat to the left of Fort Beauregard and the Horse Shoe Fort; then lateral ditches were dug to the right and left with many angles and turns to accord with the surface of the ground and the approach of the enemy's works. This ditch was constructed so as to cross the front of Fort

<sup>22</sup> For reports of the army engineers in charge of this approach to Vicksburg, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 168-208.

Beauregard within a stone's throw of the point of the Fort, which stood upon a steep hill in front of and above a ravine across which our rifle pits were constructed with comparative ease in plain view of the Fort. The enemy could not molest our workers in front of the Fort and so far below them, because any attempt to do so would be to expose themselves to our sharp shooters far in our rear at Horse Shoe Fort and our rear line of works. At the lowest point in this ravine where our works crossed, a ditch was started into the embankment right under the Fort. To protect themselves from the enemy's fire, the workers constructed a roller composed of barrels, around which were rolled cane brakes woven into a mattress with elm bark. This mattress was wound around the barrels until the roller was five or six feet high. This was rolled up the hill as the ditch approached the Fort until the sappers and miners decided they had maintained the surface of the ground as long as necessary, when they dug a mine or tunnel directly into the hill under the Fort. It was the intention to fill this tunnel with gun powder and explode the mine and destroy the Fort so that the troops could charge into the works and capture them.

In the earlier part of the campaign, a mine had been similarly placed under a fort far to our right, about the center of the Confederate works, and the fort blown up and the Union forces charged into the breach, but without any beneficial results to the Union cause.

About the 1st of July, while much of the army was far in the rear attending to Joe Johnson [*sic.* Joseph E. Johnston] who was at Black River, and our line of battle was comparatively light — most of us being in the extreme out works watching the Confederate movements with great care, as it was probable they they would try to cut through our lines and break out for we thought they were about out of provisions and knew that they could not stand a much longer siege, and it was the special desire of the Union army to capture every Confederate soldier in Vicksburg — the nerves of the soldiers were drawn to an extreme tension by the constant service and danger of the situation. They slept on their arms at all times while in proximity to the Confederate works and the least suspicious noise or unusual movement would call every man to his feet instantly, although sound asleep in the ditch. To illustrate the tension to which the nervous system was strung, I will relate an incident in connection with our mine which was never exploded as intended by our engineers.

It was about the above date, the 1st or 2nd of July,<sup>23</sup> perhaps after midnight. Everything was perfectly still, not a sound was heard from either army. The troops were lying in the ditch upon their arms, sleeping apparently as soundly as if at home in their beds. All at once the whole line immediately jumped to their feet, threw the muzzles of their guns over the embankment in the direction of the enemy and then breathlessly waited for — what? No shot had been heard by any one, no noise had alarmed any of the troops, and after waiting a few minutes the soldiers began to question each other, "What did you hear?" "Nothing. Did you hear anything?" "No." "Was there any fire?" "Not a shot." "What has occurred?" No one could tell. It perhaps was not two minutes but it seemed ten, until around the corner of the ditch came one of the sappers and miners who had been working in the mine. It was E. J. C. Bealer of my Company. He was talking of the rebels in no very complimentary terms. Here was a solution perhaps to our alarm, so we turned to question him as to the cause of his excitement. He said that the Confederates had put in a counter mine to blow ours out, but had made a miscalculation in their engineering and had only thrown about a barrel or two of dirt down in our tunnel, the most of which fell upon engineer Bealer but did not hurt him very much. In fifteen minutes they were again at work cleaning out the earth thrown down by the Confederate mine and all was again quiet.

Bealer's particular grievance seemed to be that the Confederate explosion had caused them the additional work of removing the dirt thrown into the mine by their fruitless waste of powder. To explain my jumping to my feet without apparent cause, I will say that the only thing that I then recollected as the cause of my awakening was that a few grains of dirt fell from the rear embankment upon me, which no doubt was caused by the explosion, but my thought at the instant was that it was the result of a stealthy foot on the rear embankment over my head and might be that of an enemy stealing through our lines while we slept, or that we might even then be trapped and surrounded by Confederates. . . .

In the battery in front of our camp was an old Napoleon gun,<sup>24</sup> which

<sup>23</sup> According to the report of Lieut. Peter C. Hains, chief engineer with the 13th corps, the Confederates made two attempts at exploding mines in front of the sappers in this sector of the front; one on June 28, "doing no damage whatever," and another on July 3, also with no damage. It is probably to one or the other of these incidents that Switzer refers here. *Ibid.*, 185, 186.

<sup>24</sup> A "Napoleon gun" was a brass field gun adopted in France about 1856.



frequently exploded shells at the muzzle. The cause was said to be that the ammunition did not fit the gun. Whatever the cause, the results were far from amusing to us who were usually in front of it when it was fired, the shot from which was expected to carry far over our heads into the enemy's lines. One morning, after having returned from picket duty in front, my brother James and I lay down in the Horse Shoe Fort as a reserve guard for the day and went to sleep in front of the old Napoleon. We were awakened by the screaming and hissing and whizzing of the fragments of shell and shot over our heads and into our midst. The gun had exploded a shell and scattered its fragments all around and amongst us in the Fort, which was filled with soldiers, but fortunately no one was hurt. On another occasion, I saw it explode a shell into a body of our reserve guard and expected to see them all killed but no great damage was done. This Napoleon made more noise than any gun in our vicinity — it seemed to feel its importance and speak for itself. I frequently sat upon the ground in the rear, while it was in action, making an effort to sit still when it exploded, but it seemed to me as though it always raised me about six inches every time it was fired.

Before the works were completed, both armies put out, between the lines, picket posts at night. The method adopted by both sides was to wait until dusk, the pickets would be on the alert, and when they saw those of the enemy ready, both lines would spring from their rifle pits and advance to the neutral ground between the lines, meet and establish their posts, and sit within a few feet of each other all night conversing, trading tobacco, coffee, and other commodities, until dawn began to show in the East when they would mutually agree not to fire upon each other until both sides were safely within their lines. After that the first head that showed above the works was liable to be shot at by the other side.

One evening, shortly before the pickets were withdrawn from between the lines permanently, Major White<sup>25</sup> of the 22nd Regiment had charge of the Union picket line. They got a little advantage of the Confederates, having started more promptly, and before the Confederate pickets reached the front the Union post was stationed almost on top of the embankment of their works. The Confederate officer insisted on the Union pickets moving

<sup>25</sup> Ephraim G. White of Agency City, first lieutenant of Co. E, 22nd Iowa, was promoted to captain on Jan. 30, 1863, to major of the regiment on June 9, 1863, and finally to lieutenant colonel on May 6, 1864. *Roster and Record*, 3:664.

back to the neutral ground. Major White objected. He said the ground was good enough for the Union pickets and they would keep the station. The Confederate demurred, saying "You will want to station your pickets in our works next." The Major replied, "That's what we came here for." The matter was finally settled — I do not know how — but it was amicably arranged and the pickets of the two armies sat down to their usual night of watching, conversing and trading.<sup>26</sup>

Probably the closest call I had to being shot during the seige was on an occasion when I had been on the picket post in the morning watch. We were instructed to leave the post as soon as it became light enough to see and not wait to be withdrawn. I had started but, thinking that I would fire my gun at the rebel fort by the coming light, I went into the hollow in the direction of the works so as to bring the Confederate fort between me and the sky. I found the fog so thick that I could not see the fort. I returned to an unfinished rifle pit outside of the Horse Shoe Fort and fired my gun from the embankment. I had hardly pulled the trigger when two shots passed my head and went into the embankment behind me. The enemy had been waiting for just such an opportunity. I turned to go into the fort but found that I was cut off, there being no connecting ditch, and I was left to spend the day in the rifle works or run the gauntlet again. It was then broad day light. I had no idea of being cooked in the hot sun all day in an out work without any water or provisions so I made a dash for the fort and got over the embrasure safely.

Once we had a tremendous rain storm. Our ditches were constructed without regard to drainage, the weather being mostly very dry. The rain filled our principal passage way to the front, in one place about waist

<sup>26</sup> This fraternization was known to the Union officers and in fact sometimes encouraged. Lieut. Hains reported on June 20: "The enemy's pickets in front of General Carr's division have entered into an agreement with the latter's pickets not to fire on each other at night. They allow our men to work in full view, and make no attempts to stop it. Last night the picket officer was directed to crowd his pickets on the enemy's, to allow the working party to push on the second parallel. The two lines of pickets, the enemy's and ours, were then not more than 7 or 8 yards apart, and in full view of each other. A working party was then stretched out in rear of our line, and the work begun. The enemy's pickets could see it all, but did not offer to molest us. By this means a trench was opened within 60 yards of their salient C. . . . Although it is not customary to allow an enemy's pickets so close to the operations of a siege, it was a great benefit to us, as the ground was such in some places as to have rendered it difficult to have carried on the work in any other way." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 184.

deep. It was necessary to open this ditch and let the water out so that the way could be used and I was detailed as one of the engineers to perform the duty. To get to our work, we either had to run the gauntlet of Confederate guns or wade through the water. As usual we preferred to keep our feet dry. We succeeded in relieving the ditch of part of the water but could not get back dry shod, so we again, one by one, took a run for the rear. The Confederates stationed in the fort to our right noticed our predicament and turned their small guns on us. We all got safely back to camp but the bullets whistled very close to our ears before we reached camp, and the wonder is that some of us were not left on the field unable to get back without help.

Our camp was pretty well protected by the fortifications in our front from exposure to the Confederate guns, being located in the top of a ravine which sloped to our rear in the form of a circle with the convex side toward the enemy. Our tent, which was located immediately behind the old Napoleon gun, was the highest and most exposed of any in the camp. Four of us, E. J. C. Bealer, S. S. Street, Dick Thomas and myself, had the tent to ourselves. Twice during the siege, the tent was entered by Confederate bullets but none of us hurt. One day we had been to the front for some purpose and the Regiment was returning to camp about noon, we having been among the first to reach our tent. To save distance we took the risk of a short cut around the end of the battery earth work and were exposed to the view of the Confederates for a moment while making the turn. Street, who was a predestinationist, was arguing on the subject of predestination and was asserting hotly in argument with Bealer that if he was born to be hung he would never be shot. The argument proceeded for some time, when he made this assertion. I said to him, "Seb, I believe you were born to be hung but if you will go up there and stand on the embankment five minutes, I will guarantee you will never be hung." He said, "Oh yes, if I expose myself, I might be shot." Just then a bullet clipped through the tent within two inches of Bealer's head, cut the cloth of the tent twice and also the shirt sleeve of Thomas who was washing himself at the door of the tent. The argument was immediately postponed and has never been renewed so far as I know.

Street had a very distressing cough and always went to the spring before going to bed and filled his canteen with water, of which he took a sup during the night occasionally to relieve his cough. I bunked with Street,

our bunk being made of cane brakes strapped together into a mattress with elm bark and laid upon cross pieces on stakes about a foot from the ground. One night Street raised up to take a drink of water and, as is customary with soldiers, he shook the canteen to see if there was any water left. A bullet rattled inside instead of water. I was awakened by hearing Seb "blessing" the rebels in no very complimentary terms. In the morning we examined the canteen. The bullet had struck squarely on the edge of the seam, opened it, passed through to the bottom and simply opened the seam at the bottom sufficiently to let the water out and the bullet remained inside. None of us heard the shot. I would give a small fortune if I could have that canteen as a relic of the war now, but at the time it was thrown away as of no value whatever.

I picked up on the field two minie balls that met in their flight, striking their points together almost squarely. They were crushed together and firmly welded into one. This is another relic that I carelessly let slip and would now consider invaluable if I had it.

A singular condition of the human system imposed by living and sleeping constantly under fire was that the soldier, getting away from the entrenchments far enough to be beyond the hearing of the incessant firing of the guns, was unable to sleep, produced by the unusual quiet in which he found himself. I recollect being sent as guard with a provision train to the Yazoo River, our base of supplies. The trip occupied two days, one night being spent at Yazoo beyond the hearing of the guns. It was the first time since the 19th of May — perhaps an entire month — that I had been beyond the constant roar of guns, and the unusual quiet of the night disturbed my sleep very much. I was unable to realize that everything was all right and that I might sleep in peace. But on returning the next day to camp and entering the old routine, I slept peacefully behind and under the guns of our battery which kept up constant firing night and day almost.

About noon on the 3rd day of July, a flag of truce was seen emerging from the center of the line in front of McPherson's Corps. The firing ceased and the first negotiations toward the surrender commenced. It was General Pemberton's flag seeking to negotiate with General Grant for special terms of capitulation. The word had been passed all along the line and firing had ceased at all the rear fortifications, but our mortar boats, situated on the River about four miles directly on the opposite side of Vicksburg, had not yet received the order to cease firing. They continued



dropping shells over the rebel fortifications and had very recently improved their range so much that they dropped them almost immediately over the rebel fort in front of our position.

During the negotiations between Grant and Pemberton, which were being held between the lines under a tree, the troops of both armies collected upon their outer works and entered into conversation with one another at places where the fortifications were sufficiently near to permit. Our line was within fifty yards of the rebel fort and conversation was carried on quite easily between the Confederates and ourselves. It was singular to hear deadly enemies chatting with each other, joking, laughing and talking, apparently as socially as if they were the best of friends at all times and under all conditions.

One big fat rebel officer stood upon the parapet of their fort with a field glass in his hand, endeavoring to take advantage of the truce for inspecting our works and observing the number of our troops. He was engaged very industriously for some time when one of our officers suggested to him that he better take down his glass and use only his eyes, or a bullet might stop his eye sight forever. He very gracefully acquiesced and confined further investigation to his normal eye sight.

The reader will appreciate the incident more keenly if he will reflect that although we knew that thousands of men were behind the works immediately in front of us and only a few feet away, it was very seldom that we ever were able to see the slightest sign of a human being, for if a man stuck his head or hand above the works during the day time it was almost sure to be pierced by a bullet. Of course to the Confederates our side was just as devoid of humanity so far as the eye sight went. But during this truce we saw before us, as they did before them, thousands of enemies and had the opportunity of a short spirited conversation with them.

It happened during the time when we were all curiously inspecting each other that our mortar boats on the river were doing their greatest execution and firing rapidly, dropping shells which exploded about one hundred yards in the air, throwing their thousands of pieces in every direction, not only over the heads of the rebels but also over ours and away to our rear. Our fortifications were no protection whatever to the dropping shells. We were in the habit of dodging behind our works to protect ourselves from Confederate shot and shell but were in no way provided for protection from our own mortar shells. The terrible whirring, hissing, whizzing, blood

curdling sound of the pieces of shell as they flew around over our heads, apparently hunting for human gore, caused such an awe inspiring feeling amongst our soldiers that it was impossible to avoid attempting to dodge or try to hide from them, and we would naturally duck our heads and dodge to the ground while the pieces seemed to be searching for us. But the Confederates, who had been under this constant fire ever since the commencement of the siege, had become so accustomed to these shells that they paid no attention whatever to the firing. They would laugh at us and yell out, "Dodge 'em, Yank, dodge 'em!" knowing very well that our dodging was all useless. Some of our boys replied to their jokes that they were not intended for us and wished they would take them over to themselves and keep them on that side of the line, as we had no use for them.

I do not recollect how long the negotiations lasted but the flags returned to the works and the two armies again hid behind their fortifications, although the understanding was that there was to be no more fighting until further orders, as the City would surrender probably the next day. But during this truce, the Confederates took the opportunity of remounting a gun immediately in our front and preparing it for vigorous action, and I think it was about nine o'clock at night when they opened fire from this gun, having probably during the truce located a vulnerable point in our works which they thought they would take with it. They opened fire vigorously and the shot seemed to me to pass only a few feet over our heads, but the least of our fears was of being injured by the Confederate gun. We knew that it would draw the concentrated fire of our batteries which would naturally hurl a volume of shot and shell over our heads that would be anything but pleasant to us. It was not long until we realized the fact that our guns were still active. Such a terrific fire perhaps I never was under before or since, of our own guns and theirs firing over our heads. Their gun, however, was knocked down in a short time by our battery and silenced. So far as I recollect now this was the last actual firing of shot and shell during the siege of Vicksburg. We were constantly on the alert for an attempt of the Confederates to break out and escape from Vicksburg. We were kept on watch constantly to prevent any demonstrations of that kind. The truce might be only a blind to cover some other movement.

On the morning of the 4th of July, 1863 word was passed along the lines that the stronghold would surrender at ten o'clock. I had been in the rifle pits under the Confederate fort at the front, nearly three quarters of a

mile from our camp, for sixty hours. Our provisions had been brought to us by the Company cooks and we were on constant duty during this time. I had such a sore mouth — from what cause I don't know — that I could scarcely eat the provisions, especially the salty soup and pork which they brought, and as soon as the word came that the surrender would take place at ten o'clock, I went to the camp and reported to the doctor for some medicine for my mouth.

The troops at the front were relieved from duty. The conditions of the surrender were that the Confederates would march out in front of their works and stack arms and then march back into the City and be paroled. As soon as it was known all along the line that the surrender was assured, the guns of all the Union batteries around the fortifications opened fire with blank cartridges in a grand Fourth of July celebration, the like of which probably never will be heard again on the Fourth of July. It was one constant roar for an hour and beat all the cannonading so far as incessant firing was concerned that I ever heard, as the entire army were firing their batteries at one and the same time as rapidly as they could load and fire.

At ten o'clock in the morning, from our camps in the rear, we witnessed the Confederate troops march out between the lines in front of their fortifications, stack arms, and then retire within the works again. Many of our boys left their camps and wandered into the City to see the prize we had captured.<sup>27</sup> They ransacked the entire City for fire works to continue the celebration in the evening, and while the display was not very extensive the continuation at night of the celebration of that grand Fourth was at least unique and beautiful. From the camps of the Union line situated in the ravines, out of sight of each other, rockets and Roman candles were fired into the air and made a beautiful display.

The incident of these rockets reminds me of another thing I wish to speak of and that is the beautiful sight of the mortar shells as they arose

<sup>27</sup> The capture of Vicksburg, on the same day as the Union victory at Gettysburg, brought great joy to the North. Grant's success in opening the Mississippi was called by Lincoln "the most brilliant in the world," and even Henry W. Halleck, the General in Chief, who had no love for Grant, wrote that "No more brilliant exploit can be found in military history." Grant, never one to indulge in fine writing, had sent Halleck a brief dispatch on July 4, beginning simply "The enemy surrendered this morning." A great campaign, begun as long ago as November 2, 1862, had at last ended with victory, and praises rained on Grant from all quarters. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:414, 571; Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 4:418, 422, 424; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 6, 44.



from the river front during the siege, as witnessed from our camps at night. The firing of the gun or mortar caused a flash of light in the west, similar to a faint flash of lightning; immediately a beautiful star would arise from the horizon and mount into the sky, ascending to a great height; just as it reached its highest point and turned to descend, the roar of the gun would be heard, and the swish or roar of the shell as it mounted was terrific and continued long after explosion of the shell. The star would continue to descend until it reached a height of probably one hundred yards and then a puff of smoke would be seen, but still the roar of the oncoming shell would continue for some time until the sound had time to traverse the intervening distance when the noise of the explosion would be heard, and then the buzzing, whizzing sound of the pieces as they flew in every direction over the Confederate works. I have lain for hours of a beautiful starlit evening when all other firing had ceased except the occasional shots of the mortars — about one per minute — and watched these stars mount to the zenith, descend and explode, and counted the time from the puff of smoke at the explosion of the shell until I would hear the noise of the explosion, and thought that no more beautiful sight could be witnessed, not giving a thought to the death and destruction contained in each one of the terrible missiles.

The medicine which the surgeon prescribed for my sore mouth made me so sick that I had not ambition enough during the day of the Fourth to visit the City. I supposed of course that we would march into the City or at least remain in our camp off duty for a few days, but at about dusk on the evening of the Fourth we received orders to march at 5 o'clock in the morning to the rear after Joe Johnson, who had been hovering about our flanks and rear trying to raise the siege during the entire time.<sup>28</sup> I tried to get excused from this march on account of sickness but, as I had only applied to the surgeon for medicine for a sore mouth, I could not and started with the Company, being unable to see our captured stronghold until some weeks afterward.

The evening of the 5th we camped on the Black River, near the scene

<sup>28</sup> Grant had directed Sherman to be ready to move against Johnston, who was between Brownsville and the Big Black, prepared to attack Grant's rear to relieve Pemberton. As soon as Pemberton asked for terms, on July 3, Grant directed Sherman to move against Johnston, who had retired to Jackson on hearing of Pemberton's surrender. On July 4 Grant sent the 13th Corps to reinforce Sherman. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:555, 566, 576.



of the battle of Black River Bridge, returning over the ground which we fought over while approaching Vicksburg, passed over the battlefield of Champion's Hill and saw the terrific effect of the battle there by the 24th Iowa in the timber on the road where every little sapling and tree was marked by bullet shots in the short but decisive battle.

In consequence of my being sick on the march, I had permission to march "at will." That term means being allowed to march outside of the ranks and take my time to it, resting and moving as I pleased. This leave I carried during the entire march to Jackson after we left Black River. Nothing of any special importance occurred on this march until we approached Jackson. I think the second night before reaching the fortifications around Jackson, there came up a terrific rain storm and the weather turned very cold. I was sleeping in a fence corner where I held my ground until the water got about half side deep. I then got up and attempted to get near a very large rail fire built by the boys but, being weak and unable to push through the crowd standing around the fire attempting to dry one side at a time, I wandered off in search of a shelter and found a cotton gin or cotton store house filled with unginned cotton. I jumped into the cotton and in my wet clothes lay and slept, scarcely waking during the whole night. But in the morning I found myself so stiff that I could hardly move and would have been unable to leave the camp when the army marched had it not been for a mule which one of our boys had taken charge of. He permitted me to ride the mule and so I kept up with the procession until we arrived at the outskirts of Jackson, where Joe Johnson had made a stand to fight us.

A ludicrous affair occurred in our camp the night before the final investment of Jackson. We were camped in a body of timber, a rather thick growth of small trees with much brush and undergrowth, making it very dark, and being in the vicinity of the enemy we were prohibited lights or fires after dark. Some time in the night, a great commotion in camp awoke every one and hasty preparation was made to repel a charge of the enemy or meet any emergency arising. The rebels, however, did not put in their appearance. Upon investigation it was found that a team of mules had stampeded and caused consternation in camp.

After we got into camp at Jackson, some of the boys who had been foraging found a few half ripe peaches and brought them in, throwing them away as worthless. I got a taste of the peaches and thought they were the

best things I had ever eaten. I was sure that they would kill me if I ate many, although I could not resist the temptation. They tasted so good and I continued to eat. Strange as it may seem, I attribute my recovering to the peaches, as, instead of making me worse, I got better.<sup>29</sup>

During the siege of Jackson, I had charge of the mule and had to see that it got water and provision and I made several trips far to the rear of the army in search of water and forage. At one time I rode a long distance into the country and came into a corn field where the corn was in good roasting ear. I took my blanket and filled it with corn, as much as I could carry back to the camp, and had the cooks make for the boys in the rifle pits a corn soup which they appreciated very highly.

The siege of Jackson lasted only a few days when Johnson evacuated, leaving the City in possession of the Union troops.<sup>30</sup> Whether the Confederates set fire to the City before they left, or whether some vandal Union soldiers started the conflagration, I do not know; but a terrible fire occurred, destroying many valuable buildings and warehouses. To prevent the rebels return to Jackson, our Regiment was sent out far east of the City, across the Pearl River, to tear up miles and miles of railroad. Our Company was detailed as reserve guard to the battery and provision train, and we had nothing to do but lay in camp and forage all day. Some of our boys discovered a peach orchard with fifteen hundred trees, in which the peaches were just in their prime. Our quarter-master sergeant had captured a herd of very fine young cattle and we had a day or two of very fine living upon fruit and fresh meat.

The method of destroying a railroad might be described here, as the effectiveness with which it is done has a great deal to do with the benefit derived from the destruction. If the track is simply torn up and destroyed, the enemy can relay the rails about as quickly as they can be torn up. So a systematic method was employed to render the rails entirely useless. A Company of soldiers would be detailed and deployed along the railroad on one side; they would take hold of the end of the ties and, taking a long section of the track, lift it up and tip it right over off the road bed; then the ties are wrenched loose, piled up and a big fire made. The rails are

<sup>29</sup> Undoubtedly, Switzer's sore mouth was a form of scurvy, caused by the lack of fruit and vegetables in the soldiers' diet.

<sup>30</sup> The siege of Jackson lasted from July 11 to 17, 1863, "when it was found that the enemy had evacuated during the night." Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:576.

laid across the fire until red hot in the middle; a detachment of soldiers would take the rails at the ends and twist them around trees or fence posts or in any way so as to render them entirely useless for railroad purposes until they were again taken through the rolling mill. I do not know how many miles of road were thus destroyed but sufficient to keep the Confederates a long time in replacing.

After this we took up our line of march, retracing our steps again to Vicksburg, passing over part of the ground for the third time. We marched back to our old camp occupied during the siege but did not stop there; we went into the City and camped on the banks of the Mississippi south of the town, where we remained for some weeks. . . .

During our stay in Vicksburg, the weather was very hot and there was a great deal of sickness. I should have taken this opportunity to inspect the Confederate works around the City in the rear, which kept us at bay for so long a time, but the interest I then had in the fortifications was simply the desire to capture them. After they became ours, they lost most of their interest to me and I regret to say that I never once visited any part of the Confederate fortifications. Many interesting things appeared to the naked eye, however, showing that the City had passed through a terrible ordeal. Large buildings were pierced, some of them many times, by cannon shot, breaking great holes through the walls. The ground was torn up and plowed by shot and shell and it seems a wonder that a city full of people could for so long a time have endured such a bombardment and siege as that through which the occupants of Vicksburg passed. For I believe that, although General Grant offered to pass out non-combatants to places of safety during the siege, the courtesy was refused and none left. From the City a good view could be obtained of the canal, which was cut across the neck from above the point opposite which Vicksburg stood by General Williams, with a view to letting the river pass through some miles from the City, permitting communication from above and below without danger from the batteries of Vicksburg. The canal proved to be a failure, as the passage way was not sufficiently large for boats.

*[To be continued.]*

## SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

### DAVID BRANT'S IOWA POLITICAL SKETCHES

[In the April and October, 1955, issues of the JOURNAL, several of the political sketches of David Brant, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*, were reprinted. Originally published in 1917-1918, the sketches were reprinted in 1926 in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*. They contain the memories and observations of a young journalist who not only reported political events, but took part in them as well. The following articles cover the two administrations of Governor Horace Boies (1890-1894), the first Democrat to hold the governorship of Iowa since 1854. Brant, a Republican, reports on Boies's career from the point of view of his party and therefore his account is hardly unbiased. For a recent study of Horace Boies, see Jean B. Kern, "The Political Career of Horace Boies," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, Vol. 47, pp. 215-46 (July, 1949). — EDITOR.]

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#### *Deadlock Session Fight For Spoils*

The assembling of the Twenty-third General Assembly [January 13, 1890] brought to the capital the largest and hungriest lot of office seekers ever seen at one time in Iowa. The election of Boies and the ties in the house of representatives gave fresh life to that eternal hope which has been attributed to some people since the advent of General Jackson into presidential office. Fully half were women. They wanted various clerkships and places in the legislative postoffice. The term hungry became decidedly real as weeks went by with no organization of the house. Many fell by the wayside, owing to lack of funds to pay board bills, but enough remained to hold the members in line to prevent a compromise organization. This may sound fanciful, but it is a fact that organization was delayed at least a month owing to members having candidates on their hands who would lose out under the plans proposed. Both the Republican and Democratic members had candidates enough to make at least an average of four people for every position. When it was proposed to give the chief clerkship to the Republicans by way of compromise, several Democrats who wanted that particular job for a constituent would balk and the plan would be dropped.



Before the legislature assembled the Des Moines *Register* kept quoting Republican leaders as saying that the Republicans would organize the house. That body consisted of fifty Republicans, forty-six Democrats and four Independents. Two of these were considered sure to vote with the Democrats while two were in doubt. These two were [Allan] Smith of Boone and [Mat] Ewart of Poweshiek. Smith was most likely to vote with the Democrats, so in fact the man who held the key to the situation was Ewart. He was a farmer, populist and a former greenbacker. He was a sincere man, modest and conscious of his inability to be a leader in the house. He was first nominated by either the Populists or the Labor party, I forget which. [Ewart is listed in the *Rules of the Twenty-third General Assembly* as a member of the Union-Labor party.] When the Democrats of Poweshiek met to nominate a ticket, they proposed a fusion with the third party. Mr. Ewart was an ardent prohibitionist and he stated frankly to the Democrats that if elected he would oppose all efforts to modify the prohibitory law and the Democrats accepted him on that condition and he was elected. Joel Stewart was the Senator from the district, a Democrat, and a neighbor and friend of Mr. Ewart. It was generally supposed by the political leaders that he held Ewart in line against the Republicans. But that is not correct. I became acquainted with Mr. Ewart before the session opened and he told me frankly that he could never vote with the Republicans on organization. From the average politician's view his position was novel. He said being a prohibitionist he [had] intended to vote with the Republicans on organization, and would have done so if the Republican assumed leaders had not made it impossible for him to do so. Gilbert B. Pray, clerk of the supreme court, was chairman of the Republican state committee, and with a few others, he undertook to forestall the action of the Republican members and arrange a deal by which they would control the house. They visited Smith of Boone, but they got no encouragement there. Smith was engaged in the grain business and was considered a close friend of the North Western railway, and that company was not helping the party that had been in control when the Iowa railways law was enacted. They turned to Ewart. In their dealings with him they evidently showed little understanding of human nature. They assumed that pledges of position would win him. So they proposed that if he would vote with the Republicans they would give him the choice of the chairmanship of committees as well as give him the privilege of naming certain officers of the

house. Mr. Ewart related this to me and declared that their proposal made it impossible for him to act with the Republicans without being guilty of bartering his vote for valuable political considerations. He said that if the Republicans stood by prohibition there would be no possibility of the law being modified, as it took fifty-one votes to pass a bill.

An assurance from the Republicans to Mr. Ewart that they would do just what they did do, stand by prohibition, with no offers of reward and there would have been no deadlock.

Day after day in the newspapers, both in Des Moines and over the state, Mr. Ewart was a much discussed man. For several weeks the legislature was in deadlock and all the hope the Republicans had was centered in the possibility that Mr. Ewart might change his mind.

When the party caucuses were held the Republicans named Capt. John W. Luke of Hampton for speaker. He had been a forceful factor in passing the Larrabee railway bills. [William Larrabee had been the Republican Governor of Iowa from 1886 to 1890.] The floor leader, so far as negotiations went, was James E. Blythe of Mason City, who was chairman of the Republican conference committee.

When the legislature assembled the Democrats apparently had decided upon John F. Dayton of Allamakee for their speaker, but later nominated John T. Hamilton of Cedar Rapids. Both Dayton and Hamilton had been leaders in the railway legislation of the previous session. The reason why Mr. Hamilton was chosen was because he was from a strongly Republican county and there were hints from certain quarters that he would be more likely to be accepted by the Republicans in a compromise than would a man from a Democratic county who had no obligations to Republicans. This proved true, for in the final compromise, he became speaker. . . .

[*Iowa City Republican*, March 14, 1918.]

*Take Long Pull For Easy Funds From The State.*

While the Boies campaign was made almost entirely upon the liquor question, little attention was given to that subject by the legislature when it finally was organized. Hunting for places by aspirants and getting places for deserving politicians had much more attention than any great questions of the state. With the house equally divided politically, each side had but half the places, which was especially hard upon candidates with seven weeks' board already invested. Each party had for its state chairman men not averse

to getting all that was gettable. Gilbert Pray was the Republican head and James Dunn of Dubuque held the position for the Democrats. Hardly had the house been organized until it was found that a journal clerk was needed. Pray had on his hands a miner from the sixth district who had been efficient politically in lining up the miners. It was understood that Governor Boies would appoint J. R. Sovereign, a labor agitator, for labor commissioner, and Pray was anxious to offset this with a place for his political miner, named Sullivan. The proposition to appoint a journal clerk opened the way. Pray and Dunn went partners and had introduced a resolution providing for two journal clerks. The Republicans went into caucus and rebelled. A committee came from the room and offered the place to a newspaper man, but he declined as he could not spare the time. The objection to Sullivan was the statement by some members, that he could not write so it could be read. Of course that charge could be laid at the door of Horace Greeley, Senator Gear, Judge Hubbard and other great men, but in the Sullivan case it seemed a matter of ignorance. The lash was laid on, however, and Sullivan was named. Dunn had on his hands a young woman from Dubuque, who had a mother of high standing and a temper, so he had to do something. The dead lock was continued two weeks at a cost of over \$1,000 a day because the proposals for compromise did not provide a place for the herein mentioned daughter of the spirited senior woman from Dubuque. She was competent, however, and the house journals were properly edited and printed. Sullivan had good feet and legs and it was his part to trot back and forth from the state house to the state printing office with copy and proofs.

I intended to take up some other features of the work of that session, but having incidentally dropped into a tale of petty graft, why not tell some more about it?

For many years the newspaper men in and about the legislature had been having a stationery and supply snap. They would register as correspondents in both the house and senate. A resolution would be introduced to allow each correspondent supplies from the state supply room to the amount of \$2 a week. That made a total of \$4 a week. But when this was proposed in this session, [and] a member now lost in oblivion, offered a resolution limiting each correspondent to \$2 a week, I felt it would be possible to get along with that amount. Needing some to begin with I went to the secretary of the senate, or possibly the chief clerk of the house, to get a requi-



sition blank. He gave me the horse laugh. He kindly put me wise. No reputable correspondent ever drew stationery. He picked it up, anywhere he could find it. I was puzzled what was to become of the \$2 a week accumulation of state stationery, but I soon learned that at the close of the session the chief clerk of the supply department would issue a due bill, certifying that there was due the amount of \$2 a week, for the entire session, about \$26 in all. This certificate Redhead, Wellslager & Co., wholesale stationers, of Des Moines would cash at a discount of ten per cent. I learned that it long had been a custom for newspaper men to turn up at Des Moines, register as correspondents, and then go home. At the close of the session they would ride to Des Moines on railway passes, get their certificate and go home with about \$50 to the good.

Charges have been made of petty grafting at subsequent sessions, but no other legislature ever had such a multitude of thieves about it as had the dead lock session of 1890. Stealing stationery was as common as robbery on South Clark Street in Chicago. Committee clerks, newspaper correspondents and some others, would raid every committee room and carry [away] reams of flatcap, scratch paper, boxes of envelopes, pencils, quarts of ink. I was told by a clerk in the supply department that one chairman of a committee, a prominent member, had drawn over \$200 worth of supplies. I looked up his requisition papers and found that he averaged over a gross of lead pencils per week. He signed the requisition papers, and would direct his clerk to get a ream of paper, for instance, and the clerk would fill in a dozen or more items, of which the member had no knowledge. Complaint from the supply department to legislative officials stopped considerable of the padded requisitions.

When the legislature adjourned, I happened to call at the room of a well known correspondent, who that winter represented the Associated Press. He had a fair sized trunk full of unbroken packages of various kinds of paper, rubber bands, pencils, etc., valued at wholesale in excess of \$200.

A few days after the legislature adjourned I was at the union station in Cedar Rapids when a train came in from the west. The express car turned out a large package. It was addressed to a member of the legislature, who ran a small store in a town in the eastern part of the state. The package was broken at the corner. It contained envelopes of the brand used by the state. The package had the member's frank on it and was deadheaded to his home. I counted the boxes, finding that the package held 40,000 en-



velopes. Of course this stock went into his store at a net profit, I was going to say, 100 per cent, but is 100 times nothing 100?

The railways had representatives on hand for the session, and probably no session of legislature ever saw so much doing in the way of mileage books. A representative of one of the big roads, a young man and son of his father, came with a valise filled with mileage. He entertained one evening soon after his arrival, and late in the night he reached a point where mileage books took the place of cigars. The next morning the young man may have had a headache, but he never saw his mileage books again.

A man who had been a leader in talking against corporations and the use of mileage, was suspected of being ready to take whatever was coming. A railway representative tipped it off that he had secured an unusual supply. I went to a railway ticket brokers office and asked to see what books he had on hand. He was very guarded and would not offer anything for sale. Later I telephoned, asked him to have somebody at his place at 11 that night to meet a traveling salesman who wanted mileage. The young man in the office showed a large bunch of books and I bought three books bearing the name of this reformer. I was not acting for anybody but merely from curiosity to know whether a reformer really would traffic in mileage books. I bought the books for \$18 each and the next day had the good fortune to turn them over to the general agent of a life insurance company at \$25 each.

It was the law in those days for the State Oil Commissioner to get all the fees of his office. He divided with his deputies, did no work himself and This choice morsel, naturally, fell to the chairman of the Democratic state committee. He found the office in fine running order, and until an obstreperous deputy undertook to do his own oil testing, nothing connected with the position interfered with his regular business.

In Cedar Rapids a faithful Democrat L. S. Saner, had been the publisher of the Cedar Rapids *Democrat*, a not very successful venture. He wanted to be deputy oil inspector and talked to me about helping him get the place. Knowing that he would not tolerate anything aside from what would be in line with conscientious duty, I gave him a hint what would be expected. Mr. Saner had great confidence in the integrity of his party and the high aims of those administering its affairs in its newly acquired importance. He said that whatever crookedness the Republicans might have been engaged in, all this would now cease. He got his appointment. He

went to the west side of the Cedar River and wanted to test the oil they had in tanks and barrels. He was told that they had always had stencils in their possession, and that if Mr. Saner would kindly leave his, they would permit him to go about his private business, while they did the testing and branding. Mr. Saner declined. In the course of a short time he applied some Sherlock Holmes mental calculations and found that when a faucet entered a tank, it was in fact connected with some other tank, or compartment, so that when he tested oil, he did not in fact test the oil that could be drawn through the faucet. Mr. Saner made a kick. He carried his complaint to the governor. In time Mr. Saner was out of a job and State Commissioner Dunn was still keeping what the deputies did not take, while the Standard Oil Company went on making its own tests.

This system of not testing the oils went on till the end of the Boies term. Just when it began, I do not not know, but probably not long after the law was enacted providing for state inspection.

Another fat place was in the pharmacy commission. It was not a large sum involved, but it was something, with practically no work. Fletcher Howard, a well known Democrat from Sheldon, got this plum. He was a good Indian and nobody deserved the snap more than he. One day I was passing along the hall in the capitol basement when I heard what sounded like snoring. It came from the pharmacy room. I walked in and there was the genial, fat Fletcher, resting on a lounge, sound asleep.

One of the genial fellows brought into prominence by the incoming of the Democrats was Jud Griggs, of Spirit Lake, who was appointed fish commissioner. He was a hustler, a lover of fish, alive, we mean, and he put his department into working order and was enthusiastically in favor of enforcing the game laws. He started the hatchery at Spirit Lake, inaugurated the plan of taking the fish from the Mississippi river bayous and planting them in the lakes and rivers of the state.

This record of graft would not be complete without reference to the fact that some of the Des Moines papers would get clerkships for men, where there was nothing to do, and then they would report the legislature for the papers, without expense to the publications.

I will not close my sketch without saying that the things herein described are exceptions. I have known the Iowa legislatures well for many years. What was done then was the culmination of abuses that had come as a part of the conditions due largely to honest efforts to get good laws, which

brought opposition, and with them the dishonesty of some who would ride to places of importance on records of demagogery. Only a short time before this, probably ten or twelve years, it was revealed that some twenty Iowa editors were on the pay rolls at Washington as laborers at about \$3 a day, when in fact they were home editing their papers.

Governor Boies was a high minded man, who had great confidence in those about him. His term was not noted for anything exciting. His part in state affairs was creditable, but during his term nothing was done to carry out what he proposed when making his first campaign. The excuse given was the opposition of the Republicans, but the records do not bear this out.

In this 1890 session, Senator [J. S.] Lawrence of Sioux City, and Senator [J. H.] Smith of Linn, perfected a bill to license and regulate the liquor traffic. It provided high license fees, strict regulations, with local option features. This bill as introduced could not command the support of Scott, Dubuque, Lee, and Des Moines counties. The bill was in accordance with what had been advocated by Governor Boies, and the Republicans were ready to furnish enough votes to put it through both houses, even after eliminating the independents, but the members from the river counties knocked the bill.

[Iowa City Republican, April 4, 1918.]

#### *Prohibitory Law Basis of Fight in Campaign of 1891*

The campaign of 1891 was the culmination of the fight to rid the state of the prohibitory liquor law. Nobody cared, seemingly, that the previous legislature had failed to do anything in that direction, despite the possibility offered by the liberal Republicans. As I have told in a previous article, the Democrats pledged to modify the liquor laws, [but] with the liberal Republicans having a working majority in both the house and the senate, nothing had been done. The Smith-Lawrence bill was a reasonable high license and local option measure. It provided for licenses with \$1,000 fees, with local option to determine local policies, but under the lead of Senator [William O.] Schmidt of Scott county, this had to be modified so as to virtually eliminate local option, and the fees were reduced to from \$150 to \$300, in order to get it out of the committee.

The Democrats led off that year with the first state convention which was held at Ottumwa. The free silver and anti-prohibition elements were

in control. The platform was long and covered many subjects, both state and national. We quote here what was said on the saloon question, as it will be interesting in view of recent developments in the state and nation:

"We again declare, that in the interests of true temperance we demand the passage of a carefully guarded license law which shall provide for the issuance of licenses in towns, townships and municipal corporations of the state, and which shall provide that for each license an annual tax of \$500 be paid into the county treasury and such further tax as the town, township or municipal corporation shall prescribe, the proceeds thereof to go to such municipalities."

The Republican convention, coming two weeks later, denounced this plank as having dropped the local option feature of previous platforms, and which Governor Boies had specifically advocated. In response Chairman Charles D. Fuller of Fairfield declared the press reports had omitted a portion of one sentence. He claimed that the words "by vote of the people of such corporation" had been omitted. Some of the Democratic papers recognized the correction, but in the cities the original platform seems to have stood.

But the voters who were determined upon a change of policy cared nothing about platforms. They had a purpose and they voted for Boies and generally for the Democratic candidates for the legislature.

Horace Boies was nominated by the Democrats for governor so far as administration was concerned. He attracted national attention by making an address before what was known as the Home Market Club of New York City, a free trade organization, in which he had attacked Republican tariff policies, and to show what they had done for an agricultural country, he cited statistics to show that on each bushel of corn produced in Iowa the farmers had lost, I think 15 cents. The manner in which he reached that conclusion shows the absurdities of most free traders, of which Boies was a most pronounced adherent. He had appointed a man named [J. R.] Sovereign for labor commissioner. He was a sort of political and social dreamer, decidedly socialistic and populistic in his tendencies. He had prepared a set of questions which were sent to several hundred prominent farmers. In these he asked them to state the value of their lands and other investments, the time required to make ready the land, plant the corn, cultivate and harvest the crop, the number of days work and the worth of the days work by a man and team. With this as a basis, including



the interest on the investment, the cost of producing a bushel of corn was determined. Comparing this with the selling price of corn, the governor found the loss to the farmers as given above.

The governor accepted the statements of the farmers relative to value of time for man and team, as well as the value of the work of the women and other expenses, and assuming that every bushel of corn merely had the value of the market quotations, he naturally reached his conclusions. He overlooked the fact that the farmers do most of their own work, hence when they said a man and team was worth \$3 a day, they did not call that an earning, although in fact it was as a rule. The governor overlooked the further fact that 90 per cent of the corn of the state is never sold, but is fed, and the price of livestock really has more bearing upon the price of corn to the farmer than the market quotations.

The Republican platform denounced this speech as a slander upon the state, and the campaign orators ridiculed the governor, but those who supported him were not concerned about corn prices, except possibly as it affected the cost of whiskey.

Two years previously Hiram C. Wheeler of Sac county had been a strong candidate for the Republican nomination for governor, but he was defeated. He had no trouble in securing the nomination in 1891. Mr. Wheeler was said to own and operate the largest stock farm in Iowa, located in Sac county. He had been active in state fair management. He bred imported horses and also had some of the finest cattle in the country. The Republican campaign manager that year was Senator Edgar E. Mack of Storm Lake. He had been in the senate, and was a man of ability, but not experienced in political organization. He was ridiculed considerably during the campaign and was criticized by others, but the fact [was] that the Republican party was so disorganized by differences on the liquor question that nobody could have organized and won the election. For lieutenant governor the Democrats named Senator S. L. Bestow of Lucas county, and the Republicans, George Van Houton of Taylor county. . . .

The close of the campaign of 1891 marked the low tide of Republican standing in Iowa. Boies was elected by over 15,000 majority; Bestow was chosen for lieutenant governor and L. G. Kinne for supreme judge and the party also had the state superintendent of public instruction. The senate was divided with 25 Republicans, 24 Democrats and one Independent, while the house had four Republican majority. The session of the

legislature followed with nothing done on the liquor question. The Democrats could not rally their members to support even a license law as had been promised by the platform. With two sessions of the legislature with only four Republican majority on joint ballot with the offices being filled up with Democrats and that party having six of the eleven members of Congress from Iowa, the party leaders began seriously considering some way of getting out from under the rule of the radical prohibition leaders.

[*Iowa City Republican*, July 11, 1918.]

*Jackson Nominated For Governor*

We now come to near the end of Governor Boies's second term. He had ostensibly been elected as a protest against prohibition. His party had pledged high license and local option and he had advocated the same in two campaigns. Two sessions of the legislature had passed and the prohibitory law remained upon the books. Unenforced in most parts of the state, we had practically the free sale of liquors. It is admitted that in a majority of the communities there were no open saloons, but that did not mean that these communities were free from the the presence of liquor in its most demoralizing form. Drug stores were the great offenders in the parts of the state where no saloons were found. Also livery barns played their part. Another form of sale was through the express companies. The outside liquor dealers would send jugs addressed to fictitious persons, with charges to cover the price of the liquor. Those who wanted whiskey could call at an express office, pay the charges and get a jug of whiskey.

The Republicans of the state had become very restless under the conditions. The majority of the delegation in Congress were Democrats, and there was a likelihood of the party losing a Senator. So far as the liquor business was concerned, conditions had improved in the cities. The councils generally had ignored the state law and had adopted what were known as disorderly house ordinances. These provided that persons indulging in certain offenses, including the sale of liquor, should be known as the keepers of disorderly houses. Fines of various amounts were provided. The keepers of such places reported either in person or by proxy, and the fines were imposed and paid. This, in effect, amounted to license. The plan, like the mulct law which came later, was imported from Ohio, which state for over fifty years contained a constitutional clause prohibiting the licensing of the sale of liquor.

The disorderly house ordinances were in force in Des Moines, Ottumwa, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Marshalltown, Fort Dodge, Boone, Creston, and a number of smaller places, while Davenport, Dubuque, Muscatine, Clinton, Burlington, Keokuk, Fort Madison, and I think Sioux City and Council Bluffs had no restrictions and had never paid the slightest attention to the prohibitory laws. In these places small licenses were imposed, without any restrictions.

The Republican party after declaring that prohibition was the settled policy of the state, had made no effort to enforce the law, while the Democrats had utterly disregarded their convention pledge and in legislation had done nothing. It was a convenient excuse to say that they could not legislate, as they did not control the legislature, but in fact they had never reported from any committee or even introduced any bill to carry out the pledges made in their conventions and by Governor Boies in his two campaigns. It is also true that when liberal Republicans offered a high license and local option bill, the Democrats declined to help enact the same into law.

Such was the condition when the time was approaching to hold the conventions of 1893. The Democrats decided to present Boies for a third term while the Republicans, at sea as to a candidate, were set upon getting rid of the old man of the sea, that had lost them two elections. They did not break away by actual resolution or by any overt act but the results amounted to that. The party was ready to do something to make the liquor laws effective, something for temperance was the talk, but in fact the leaders wanted to get away from prohibition, and the rank and file was with them, except the irreconcilables, who seemed to regard prohibition as something semi-sacred. But that element was not in convention evidence that year.

This movement in behalf of temperance, of course, must have a sponsor. A Methodist was preferable. One with an unbroken prohibition record who had not been mixed up in recent politics was preferable. The man was found. He was the venerable Senator James Harlan. He had been a Methodist preacher in his young days [*sic*. There is no proof of this]. He was still a Methodist and he had no recent political connections. He was sought out and was made the temporary chairman of the Republican state convention.

The address brought home to the younger men the fact that the state had retired its greatest man, so far as brain worth was concerned. It was

not so much what Harlan said in his speech, as the way he said it, the force he gave to his expression and his declarations as to what constituted Republicanism. When he had defined Republicanism he set aside any capacious criticisms by a dramatic remark that if he did not know what Republicanism is, who does. He had been at the first convention, he had been one of its organizers, he was the first Republican elected to the Senate from Iowa [and] one of the first in the United States. He was there when Lincoln fell by the wayside as an opponent of Douglas. He was in the convention that nominated Lincoln.

Senator Harlan laid down nine propositions which he declared covered the principles and policies of the Republican party. "Adherence to these fundamental principles is Republicanism," he declared. He referred to the national defeats of 1884 and 1892 and said that they were due to distrust of leaders and jealousies, and not because the majority of the people were not Republicans. He referred to General Pope's defeat at Bull Run, saying it was due to the lack of support by some of his subordinate generals. So in Iowa, the Republicans have lost two elections on governor because some Republicans have not supported the candidates. The vital point of the Harlan address was where he said that the unwisdom of incorporating in platforms declarations in favor of specific statutes or proposed statutes ought to be seen. They drive from the party the opponents of specific statutes. Platforms should be confined to declarations of principles and policies. Then, in a most earnest manner, Senator Harlan asked: "Are we not wise enough to cut out all apples of discord from among us, remove all causes of discord and quit fighting one another and turn our guns upon our common enemy?"

The convention was one of the most exciting ever held in the state. The Democratic papers, especially the *Des Moines Leader*, charged that it was controlled by the railways and corporations, but nothing developing in later legislation gave evidence of such fact. The candidates for nomination had the largest lists of entries of any convention ever held. No less than seven men were actively seeking the nomination for governor, unless it may be said that Mr. Jackson was not an active candidate, but that was made up by the activity of his friends. The list besides Mr. Jackson included General F. M. Drake, Capt. James A. Lyon, Lafe Young, Capt. Albert Head, Col. E. S. Ormsby, L. S. Coffin.

The convention was held in the old tabernacle on Grand avenue east



side. The day was hot and the convention wanted to get down to business, but when 4 o'clock came, nothing had been done. An attempt was made to postpone balloting till after the committee on resolutions had reported, but finally after long debate and wrangling, this was voted down.

The party turned to Frank D. Jackson as the leader who could win. He had been secretary of state. He had been loyal to the party in all campaigns since he entered politics. He was not an active prohibitionist and his record was not offensive to either side. He was young, active, and an excellent campaigner, something the party had not had since the Kirkwood campaign of 1875. Mr. Jackson had retired from politics when he left the office of secretary of state and had joined his fortunes with the Royal Union Life Insurance Company which Sid Foster had brought to Des Moines from Marshalltown a few years before. At the time of the convention Jackson was in New York, looking after the financing of the Equitable Life Building which was constructed the next year. His immediate friends professed to have no knowledge as to whether he would accept, a condition of uncertainty the friends of other candidates claimed was created for a purpose.

However, he led on the first ballot and was nominated on the second. At the evening session a ringing telegram was read from Jackson announcing that he would accept the nomination and called upon the party to go in for victory.

A long list of candidates was presented for second place, but the convention, in the evening, tired and worn hurried matters and made quick nominations. The choice fell upon Col. W. S. Dungan of Chariton who had been in the senate and was prominent in Grand Army circles.

The Republicans gave evidence of standing by the Larrabee railways program by nominating Capt. J. W. Luke of Hampton for railway commissioner.

The report of the committee on resolutions was read by Sam Clark of Keokuk, a leader of the anti-prohibition forces. On the liquor question it declared that all such should be determined by the people through their legislative representatives, and to the legislature the platform relegated the entire question, with the pledge that prohibition would be maintained for the communities where it could be enforced, and that relief should be given other communities. As soon as the resolutions were read, Judge G. R. Struble of Tama moved to strike out the clause relating to relief for the

cities where the law was not enforced. This brought on a prolonged and bitter discussion. To strike this out would leave the declaration as referring only to regulating the subject to the legislature without the pledge to protect the prohibition counties and to give relief to others. Finally the amendment was voted down by 590 to 613.

Following the convention some radicals sought to have a convention called to nominate a prohibitionist for governor, but it was dropped, when no available man would accept.

We do not recall an instance where the head of the Republican party in Iowa put as much ginger into a campaign as was injected by Mr. Jackson. He had things coming his way from the start. His position on the liquor question, as we remember it, was something like this: The Republican party will never put a saloon into any community that does not want it, and it will provide the means for making those that may exist obey the laws.

During the campaign a very disagreeable incident was developed that would have wrecked a campaign for a man of less courage and skill. Soon after his graduation from the college of law of the state university, Mr. Jackson located in Independence. Soon after he undertook to get a pension for a man there who was deserving, but the work of getting the proofs was great. Mr. Jackson was energetic. He made a couple of trips to Washington and made others to get evidence. Finally he was successful and the man received his pension, which amounted to a considerable sum. He paid Jackson about \$300, which had hardly covered his personal expenses. Somebody filed complaint against him for this, and it being against the rules of the pension bureau for attorneys or agents to get more than a nominal fee he was suspended from practice in the department. Friends, including Senator Allison, intervened and he was restored to practice. Mr. Jackson undoubtedly was not familiar with the rules and intended no offense. During the campaign the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* came out in a page article reviewing the case and tried to lay the blame upon Mr. Jackson. The editor of the *Gazette* was a bitter personal enemy of Mr. Jackson. The article attracted wide attention. Mr. Faulkes, editor of the *Gazette*, wrote hundreds of letters over the state demanding that Mr. Jackson be removed from the ticket. I happen to know that some of the Republican members of Congress wrote letters assisting Mr. Faulkes in such an effort, and a few Republicans of state reputation helped in the same line.

While the opposition was making the most of the situation by appealing

to veterans of the Civil War to oppose a man who they claimed had wronged a poor soldier, the Republicans played a master stroke. They arranged a meeting in Cedar Rapids to be addressed by Mr. Jackson. The stage of the theater was filled by more than 200 old soldiers, with an old soldier for chairman, who declared in his introduction, that the veterans of the home of the *Gazette* were all for Jackson. The meeting was a whopper. The story of the Cedar Rapids meeting went all over the state and the incident was closed.

Mr. Jackson was elected by a fair majority, as were all the other Republican candidates with him on the ticket. The party also had a good working majority in both branches of the legislature.

Mr. Jackson was inaugurated and Horace Boies retired. He had given the state a reputable administration. He had been a notable figure in public affairs. . . . Mr. Jackson made an excellent business governor. He devoted his time closely to state affairs. He declined renomination on account of business matters. . . . He is one of the few men who have held high office who had the good sense to quit politics to make a success of business.

[*Iowa City Republican*, August 22, 1918.]

## HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### *The State Historical Society of Iowa*

The Society added 244 new members during the months of July, August, and September, 1957. The following Life Members were elected during that period:

Mrs. Roland Smith, Winthrop	Howard T. Lambert, Sioux City
R. E. Carvutto, Iowa City	Frank R. Lewis, Davenport
Mrs. P. B. Smith, Jefferson	G. Arthur Luther, Charles City
Clemens A. Werner, Davenport	Charles E. Mott, Iowa City
Edward L. Anderson, Waterloo	Mrs. W. A. Myers, McGregor
Mrs. E. L. Baxter, Central City	Louis Shulman, Iowa City
Carleton D. Beh, Des Moines	V. U. Sigler, Des Moines
Dr. Harold H. Buhmann, West Union	Harlan E. Snyder, Cedar Rapids
Dr. D. L. Crissinger, Iowa City	Paul A. Tornquist, Davenport
Allin W. Dakin, Iowa City	Miss Hazel A. Veith, Keokuk
E. J. Gifford, Iowa City	Mrs. May Pardee Youtz, Iowa City
Dr. F. A. Gillett, Oskaloosa	Mrs. Margaret Deal, Waukon
Charles B. Harding, Mason City	Ray Nyemaster, Des Moines
Mrs. Leslie H. Schrubbe, Waterloo	

The Society helped plan and conduct a tour of northeastern Iowa for the Johnson County Farm Bureau Women's Organization on September 24. The members toured Cedar Rapids, Oelwein, Decorah, where they visited the Norwegian-American Museum, Spillville, Fort Atkinson State Park, and St. Anthony Church near Festina.

#### SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

July 9	Addressed Luther College Convocation.
July 25	Addressed Lowden Centennial at dedication of new high school building.
August 1	Spoke to Iowa City Rotary on Centennial Building program.



- August 8 Spoke in Iowa City at start of Newton Stage Coach trip from Iowa City to Newton.
- August 12 Spoke at Newton Centennial celebration in Newton.
- August 28 Attended "State Day" at Iowa State Fair.
- September 6-7 Attended Iowa Daily Press Association.
- September 15 Addressed fall meeting of Iowa Business and Professional Women in Des Moines.
- September 21 Addressed annual meeting of the Des Moines Pioneer Club.
- September 24 Conducted Johnson County Farm Bureau Women on historical tour of northeastern Iowa.
- September 24 Spoke at district meeting of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs held at Upper Iowa University, Fayette.
- October 3-7 Attended annual meetings of the Society of American Archivists, American Association for State and Local History, and the North American Association of Historic Sites Public Officials, at Columbus, Ohio.

### *Iowa Historical Activities*

Twenty-five citizens of Mills County met at Glenwood in September to form the Mills County Historical Association. Temporary officers are Otha D. Wearin, president; Forest Cantry, vice president; Mary Evelyn Logan, secretary; and John C. Dean, treasurer. A museum, the gift of Jacob and Fred Mintle, will be built in the Glenwood Lake Park.

The old Bonnett one-room schoolhouse near Birmingham in Van Buren County will be preserved by members of the Bonnett district PTA. Erected in 1857, the school was used until 1945, when it was closed. Offered for sale at auction three years ago, members of the PTA bought it for \$150 and have restored it with its original furnishings and books.

Columbia, in Marion County, celebrated its centennial on September 28. Members of the Marion County Historical Society worked with the citizens of Columbia in planning the program.

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